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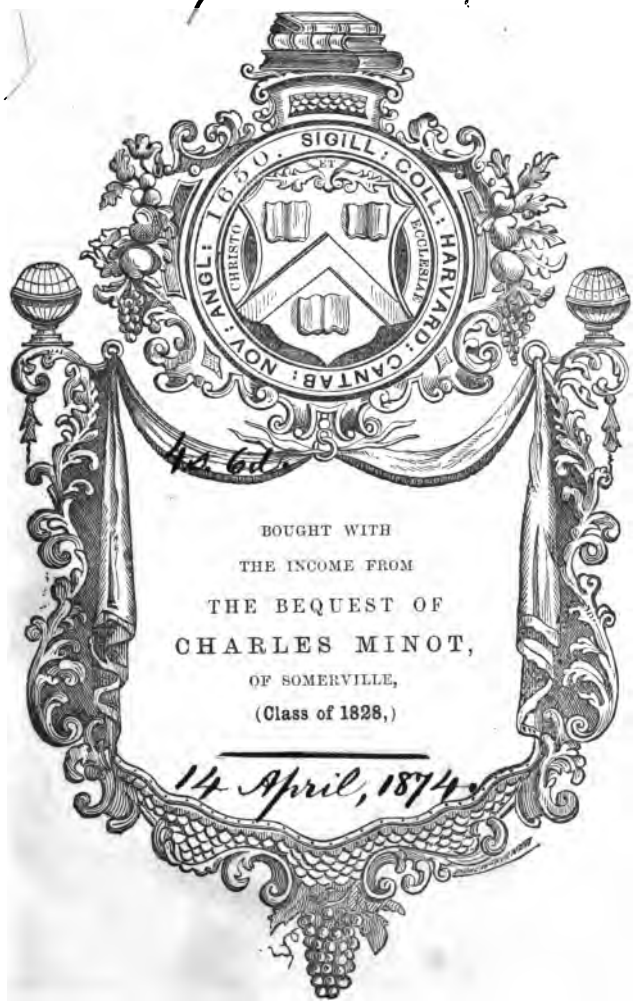
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

GRAMMAR OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES,

BY

(*Christian*)
FRIEDRICH DIEZ.

TRANSLATED

BY

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WILLIAMS AND NORGATE

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1863.

62~~7~~3, 17
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1874, April 14.

Minot Fund.

4s. - 6d.

LEIPZIG PRINTED BY B. G. TEUBNER.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ELEMENTS OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES . . .	1
I. Latin Elements	1
II. Greek Elements	55
III. German Elements	59
JURISDICTIONS OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES .	71
I. Italian Jurisdiction	72
II. Wallachian	88
III. Spanish Jurisdiction	93
IV. Portuguese Jurisdiction	99
V. Provençal Jurisdiction	102
VI. French Jurisdiction	114

Alb. =
 A. S. =
 Bret. =
 Bulg. :
 Burg.
 Cat. =
 Comas
 Dut. =
 Eng. :
 Flem.
 Fr. =
 Goth.
 Gr. =
 Gris.
 Hain
 H. G
 Hun
 Ir. =
 It. :
 Lat.
 L. (:
 Lor
 M.
 M.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Alb. = Albanian.	Mil. = Milanese.
A. S. = Anglo Saxon.	M. Lat. = Middle [low] Latin.
Bret. = Bréton.	Neap. = Neapolitan.
Bulg. = Bulgarian.	N. Fr. = New [modern] French.
Burg. = Burgundian.	N. G. = New German.
Cat. = Catalanian.	N. Gr. = New Greek.
Comasch. = Comaschian.	N. H. G. = New High German.
Dut. = Dutch.	N. Pr. = New [mod.] Provençal.
Eng. = English.	Norm. = Norman.
Flem. = Flemish.	Nors. = Norse.
Fr. = French.	Occ. = Occitanian.
Goth. = Gothic.	O. H. G. = Old High German.
Gr. = Greek.	O. S. = Old Saxon.
Gris. = Grison (Churwälsch &c.).	Pic. = Picardian.
Hain. = Hainault.	Piedm. = Piedmontese.
H. G. = High German.	Pg. = Portuguese.
Hung. = Hungarian.	Pr. = Provençal.
Ir. = Irish.	Sard. = Sardinian.
It. = Italian.	Sic. = Sicilian.
Lat. = Latin.	Sp. = Spanish.
L. G. = Low German.	Ven. = Venetian.
Lomb. = Lombardian.	Wal. = Walachian.
M. Gr. = Middle Greek.	Wald. = Waldensian.
M. H. G. = Middle High German.	

ELEMENTS AND JURISDICTIONS OF THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

I. Latin Elements.

Our attention is claimed by six Romance languages on account of either their grammatical peculiarities, or their literary importance; two towards the east, the Italian and the Walachian; two towards the southwest, the Spanish and the Portuguese; and two towards the northwest, the Provençal and the French. The principal and most conspicuous source of all these languages is [Latin.] They were derived however, as it has already been often and legitimately maintained, not from the classical Latin of literature, but from a popular Roman language which had been used by the side of the classical. Some care has been taken to prove, from the testimonies of the ancients themselves, that a popular language of this kind was actually in existence; but the fact is so far from needing demonstration, that we should much rather have been entitled to demand evidences for a contrary hypothesis, which alone would have involved an exception to general laws. We must only be cautious not to take this form of speech for anything else than it is usually conceived to have been, that is to say, for a vulgar usage of the common language, recognisable by a comparatively slovenly pronunciation of words, by a tendency to the elimination of grammatical forms, by the use of numerous expressions which are avoided in literature, and by sundry peculiar idioms and constructions. Such conclusions, and no others, are we justified in drawing from the evidences and testimonies which we find

in the writings of the ancients; or at the very utmost it may be conceded, that the antagonism between the popular and the literary language had reached an unusually high pitch at that period when the latter sank into a lethargic condition a little before the overthrow of the Empire of the West. Furthermore, as the existence of a popular language, or vulgar form of speech, is substantiated by universal principles, so the derivation of the Romance dialects from that language is a fact no less certain, inasmuch as the written Latin language, which took its stand upon the Past, and was only cultivated by authors and in the higher classes of society, could never, consistently with its nature, have entered into a new period of fertility; while, on the other hand, the far more flexible popular dialect was endowed with all the germs and capabilities of a developement such as the æra demanded. At a later epoch, when the great event of the Germanic irruption had brought about the overthrow of the upper classes of society, as well as of the antique culture, the pure Latin language grew extinct of itself, while the popular dialect pursued its own course all the more precipitately, so that it ended by growing in the highest degree unlike the source from which it had been derived.*

There have been attempts to collect the vestiges of the vulgar form of speech as evidences respecting the origin of the Romance form; and with this view the pages of Roman writers have been carefully turned over. This labor, so far as the right point of view has not been missed, is one that deserves our thanks, for it cannot be indifferent to us to

* The origin of the Romance languages was as early as last century made the subject of many investigations, in some cases learned and able, but in many others tedious and unfruitful. To enter again on this subject would not here be opportune. Even in more recent times, since Raynouard, who made an epoch in the science, the performances of Ampère, Fauriel, Du Méril and Chevallet in France, of Blanc, Fuchs and Delius in Germany, of Lewis in England, of Perticari and Galvani in Italy, and of Vidal in Spain, together with much that is acute and instructive in the works of various other philologists in this department, must inevitably be left unnoticed by me in the present work, of which letters, forms and constructions properly constitute the subject.

know, whether Romance forms, words, and applications of words, are first traceable after the great ethnical migrations, or in a preceding period — in other words, whether we ought to regard them as products of an extrinsic pressure of events, or of a natural process of development. Some scattered popular expressions are contained even in the earlier writers, such as Ennius and Plautus, and among those of the golden age, especially in Vitruvius; but it was only the last centuries of the duration of the Western Empire, when the severe patrician spirit of the classical school had perished, that witnessed the invasion of the literary language by numerous novel idioms, which from that time forth began to receive a notable development, especially in prose diction. Extensive results in this kind followed the institution of political equality among the subjects of Rome, who now ceased to recognise, even in literature, the sovereignty of Latium, and began to exhibit without bashfulness their provincial usages.* On this point we find a striking observation in Isidorus, *Orig.* 1, 31: “Unaquæque gens facta Romanorum cum suis opibus vitia quoque et verborum et morum Romam transmisit”. While modern writers were thus flinging their doors open to the popular usage, the same became a topic of discussion to the grammarians, whose practical views were for the most part directed to the purification of the language. Gellius, for instance, has preserved for us in the last chapter of his *Noctes Atticæ* the title of a book by T. Lavinius *De verbis sordidis*, the loss of which, inasmuch as the term *sordidus* here signifies *common* or popular (*Noct. Att.* 9. 13), is on many accounts to be regretted. However, a very rich collection of obscure, antiquated, and popular words has reached our times in the well known book of Festus *De significatione verborum* founded on Valerius Flaccus, a work which, though it is in the main only accessible to us in the excerpts of Paulus Diaconus, a

* Further particulars respecting the decline of Latinity in the Roman literary histories, especially from Bernhardt, p. 290 et seq., p. 295 et seq., 2^d ed. “Umrisse zu einer Geschichte der römischen Volkssprache” are quoted by Aug. Fuchs in his elaborate work, *Die roman. Sprachen in ihrem Verhältnisse zur latein.*, p. 35—50.

contemporary of Charlemagne, and though the text is in many places corrupt, must still be regarded as a treasure-trove for Latin and likewise for Romance philology. Among the remaining grammarians the preference must be given to Nonius Marcellus for his work *De compendiosa doctrina*, and to Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, as author of an *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*. No *bona-fide* memorial has been preserved of the vulgar dialect, as we must conceive it to have appeared in the Mimi and Atellanæ; although we may take the passages in Petronius, which he puts into the mouths of low people, as a kind of approach to the thing*. With all its indulgence for popular forms of expression, the later literature still kept clear of ungrammatical and mutilated flexions, for the discovery of which we must refer to the contemporary inscriptions.

- It appears then, that a historical grammar of the Romance languages would be deprived of an important part of its material, if it took no account of the (popular) Latin idiom which is in this sphere exhibited largely and in the guise of legitimate diction. On this account the formal deviations of the common from the classical Latin must be hereafter cited each in its proper grammatical place, while a selection from the Latin dictionaries is here introduced of isolated words and applications which are to be considered as popular. It is not in evidence of the already certain fact of the Romance languages owing their origin to the popular Latin, that we exhibit these elements, but only to give a fuller representation of that fact. Our specimens exhibit two classes of expressions, namely, those that have been explicitly cited by the
- 1) the ancients as low or unusual (*vocabula rustica, vulgaria, sordida*, and so forth), and those which may be reputed of the
 - 2) same kind. To the latter class belong, (1) various rarely employed expressions of different ages, such as denote familiar conceptions, and such especially as are found in authors having no particular pretensions to elegance, and (2) some

* On the age of Petronius Arbiter see *Museum für Philologie*, new series, II. 50 et seq.

expressions which make their first appearance in late ages, when the art of writing was notoriously declining. Many of these words have already been discussed in my *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. *

cm
Abbreviare, Vegetius, *de re mil.*; It. *abbreviare*, &c.

"**Abemito** significat demito vel auferto", observes Festus, p. 4 (ed. Müller). The Fr. *aveindre*, to fetch forth, whence the N. Pr. *avêdre*, implies a Lat. *abemere* on the analogy of *geindre* from *gemere*, and *preindre* from *premere*. Neither *abemere*, nor *adimere*, from which *aveindre* might equally have originated, is possessed by the sister-languages.

Acredo, Palladius; It. *acredine*.

Acror, formed like *amaror*, Fulgentius; O. Sp., Cat., Prov. *agror*, Fr. *aigreur*.

Acucula, in MSS. of the Cod. Theod. for *acicula*; It. *agocchia aguglia*, Sp. *aguja*, Pr. *agulha*, Fr. *aiguille*.

Aditare (from *adire*), Ennius, the root of one of the most important Romance verbs; It. *andare*, Sp. *andar*, Pr. *anar*, Fr. *aller*: see *Etym. Wb.* **

Adjutare, præclassical and postclassical, Terence, Pacuvius, Lucretius, Varro, Gellius, Petronius; It. *ajutare*, Sp. *ayudar*, Pr. *ajudar*, Fr. *aider*. The primitive *adjuvare* is lost in the Romance languages; the simple verb *juvare* remains only in the It. *giuvare*.

Adpertinere used by landsurveyors; It. *appartenere*, Pr. *apertener*, Fr. *appartenir*, O. Sp. *apertenescer*.

Adpretiare (to assess), Tertullian; It. *apprezzare*, Sp. Pr. *apreciar*, Fr. *apprécier*.

"**Æramina**, utensilia ampliora" in Festus, *æramen* in later usage, as in the Cod. Theod. (apud Prisc.); It. *rame*, Wal. *aramé*, Sp. *arambre*, *alambre*, Fr. *airain*, brass, &c.

* Compare Galvani's Treatise, *Dell' utilità, che si può ricavare dal latino arcaico e popolare per l'istoria degli odierni volgari d'Italia*, in the *Archivio stor. ital.* 14, 340, et seq. (1849.)

** May not these words be equally well derived from *ambulare*, which may have been corrupted, 1. into *ambudare* (comp. Sp. *amidon* [starch] from *amylum*); whence *andare*, *andar*, *anar*: 2. into *anlare*, whence *aller*? (Tr.)

Æternalis for *æternus*, Tertul., It. *eternale*, Sp., Pr. *eternal*, Fr. *éternel*.

Aliorsum (elsewhither, towards another place or object). *Aliorsum* was used by Cato, according to Festus, and likewise by Plautus, Gellius, and Apuleius. Hence the synonymous adverb of place, Pr. *alhors* ("se virar alhors", to turn another way), Fr. *ailleurs* ("rois de Sécile et d'ailleurs", of other dominions, Rutebeuf I, 428), O. Pg. *allur*. Here *alia hora* is not to be thought of, partly because *alius* was at a very early epoch superseded by *alter*, partly because the word conveys no notion of time, partly because in Pr. it never assumes any form like *althor*, *althora*.

Allaudare adlaudare, equiv. to *laudare*, occurs once only in Plautus; Pr. *alauzar*, Sp., Pg. *alabar* through *ecthlipsis* of the *d*.

Amarescere, Palladius; Pr. *amarzir* to embitter.

Amicabilis, Cod. Justin., Julius Firmicus; Sp., Cat., Pr., *amigable*, Fr. (Old) *amiable*.

Amplare for *amplificare* Pacuvius cited by Nonius; It. *am-piare*, which might also have come from *ampliare*, Pr. *amplar*.

— "**Apiaria** vulgus dicit loca, in quibus siti sint alvei apum, sed neminem eorum ferme, qui incorrupte loquuti sunt, aut scripsisse memini, aut dixisse". Thus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 2. 20. Herewithal, however, it is found in Columella, who was probably, as Freund remarks, the first to use it in the written language. It is a genuine Romance root; It. *apiario*, Pr. *apiari*, O. Fr. *achier*.

Appropriare, Cælius Aurelius; It. *appropriare*, *appropriare*, Sp. *apropiar*, Fr. *approprier*.

"Aquagium, quasi aquæ agium, i. e. aquæ ductus". Festus, p. 2; see also Pandectæ; Sp. *aquage*, Pg. *agoagem*, a current.

"Arboreta ignobilius verbum est, arbusta celebratius", remarks Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 17. 2: the former word is perhaps only to be found in this passage; It. *arboreto* and *arbusto*, Sp. *arboleda* and *arbusto*, *arbusta*.

"Artitus, bonis instructus artibus", Festus, p. 20, also in Plautus as a debatable reading. This word is evidently the source of the Pr. *artisia*, a trade, *artisier*, Ger. *de*

Rous. * 1517, the It. *artigiano*, Sp. *artesano*, Fr. *artisan* by way of *artitia*, *artitarius*, *artitianus*.

Astrum in the signification, star of destiny, fortune; "quem adolescentem vides, malo astro natus est", a passage quoted from Petronius by Galvani, *Osserv.* p. 402; Pr. "sim don dieu bon astre", Choix ** 3. 405 et seq. Hence It. *disastro*, Sp. *desastro*, Fr. *désastre*, and many more forms.

Astula for *assula* in MSS., whence Pr. *ascla*, splinter, for *astla*, like M. Lat. *sicla* for *silla*.

Attegia, hut, Juvenal; whence the equivalent *teggia*, as Galvani remarks, in dialectic Italian, to which add Gris. *tegia thea*, a chalet.

Augmentare only in Firmicus Maternus; It. *aumentare*, Sp. *aumentar*, etc.

Avicella aucella, for *avicula*, Apuleius, Apicius, but according to Varro an unusual word; "minima" (i. e. diminutives with *ell* in the termination) "in quibusdam non sunt, ut avis, avicula, avicella"; Sp. *avecilla*, It. (masc.) *uccello*, Pr. *aucel*, Fr. *oiseau*.

Badius, brown, Varro apud Non., who numbers it with the "honestis et nove veterum dictis"; see also Gratius and Palladius; It. *bajo*, Sp. *bayo*, Pr. *bai*, Fr. *bai*. Hence also perhaps the French *baillet*, pale red, implying a form *badiolettus*; although the word might also claim to be descended from *balius* (*baliolus* in Plautus), in Alb. *baljos*, red-haired or light-haired.

"**Bambalio** quidam, qui propter hæsitantiam linguæ stuporemque cordis cognomen ex contumelia traxerit". Thus Cicero, *Phil.* 3, 6. The word is not Romanesque itself, but its root is so, it being connected with the Greek βαμβάλος, a stammerer; It. *bambolo*, child, *bambo*, childish, simple.

Bassus, known in Latin only as the surname of some Roman families, almost unquestionably survives as an appellative in the Romance *basso*, *baxo*, *bas*, and appears moreover in the earliest M. Lat.

* Gerard de Roussillon, ed. Hofmann.

** Raynouard, Choix, etc.

"Batualia, quæ *vulgo* *battalia* dicuntur, exercitationes militum vel gladiatorum significant" according to Adamantius Martyrius in Cassiodorus: comp. Voss under *batus*, and Schneider I. 405; It. *battaglia*, etc.

Batuere, probably a common colloquial expression, found in Plautus, Nævius, and later authors; It. *battere*, etc. The above cited popular *battalia* bears witness to the early and truly Romanesque ecthipsis of the *u* in the case of *battere* for *batuere*.

Beber for *fiber*, still coming before us in the adjective *bebrinus*, Schol. ad Juven.; It. *bévero*, Sp. *bibaro*, Fr. *bièvre*.

Belare for *balare* a rare form employed by Varro; It. *belare*, Fr. *bêler*.

Bellatulus for *bellulus* in Plautus, so far as it implies a primitive *bellatus*; O. Fr. *bellé*, comparative *bellatior*, O. Fr. *bellezour*; see *Etym. Wb.* 2. c.

Bellax, Lucan; hence, but only as a poetical expression, Pg. *bellacissimo* in Camoens, *Lus.* 2. 46.

Berbex in Petronius, according to Schneider, 1. 227, a common form for *vervex*; It. *berbice*, Wal. *berbeace*, Pr. *berbitz*, Fr. *brébis*.

Berula for *cardamum* in Marcellus Empiricus; to which corresponds in signification the Sp. *berro*, which indeed reminds us of the synonym employed by Plinius in the Gr. *ἰβηρίς*.

Bibo, subst., Firmicus; It. *bevone*.

Bisaccium, Petronius; It. *bisaccia*, Sp. *bisaza*, Fr. *bésace*, out of the plural *bisaccia*.

Bis acutus, Augustine, Jerome; It. *bicciacuto* in same sense; O. Fr. *bésaiguë*, a double-edged axe.

Bliteus (awkward, senseless), Plautus, Laberius apud Non. This word is perhaps preserved in the quasi-synonymous It. *bizzoccone*. The letters justify this assumption: *bli* had inevitably to become *bi*, *te* to become *z*.

Blitum (*βλίτον*), Plautus, Varro, Festus, Palladius; Sp. *bledo*, Pg. *breto*, Cat. *bred*.

Boatus, Apuleius, from the more usual verb *boare*; It., Sp., Pg. *boato*.

Bojæ, i. e. "genus vinculorum; tam lignæ quam ferreæ

dicuntur", Festus, p. 35; *boja*, i. e. "torques damnatorum", Isidorus; O. It. *boja*, Pr. *boia*, O. Fr. *buie*.

Botulus Martial; Gellius 17. 7 reckons it among the "verba obsoleta et maculantia ex sordidiore usu vulgi". Dim. *botellus*; from which, taken in the sign. of *gut* arose It. *budello*, O. Sp., Pr. *budel*, Fr. *boyau*.

Brisa (τὰ βρύττα), skins of crushed grapes, Columella; Arag., Cat. *brisa* in the same sense.

Bruchus (βροῦχος a wingless locust), Prudentius; becomes Romanesque with different significations: It. *bruco*, caterpillar, Sp. *brugo*, a kind of grub, Wal. *vruch*, a may-bug.

Bua, a natural expression for children wanting to drink; "quum cibum et potionem buas ac pappas vocent (parvuli)", Varro apud Non. "Imbutum est... unde infantes an velint bibere dicentes, *bu* syllaba contenti sumus", Festus, p. 10. Comp. the compound *vinibua*. This expression is preserved in the Genoese *bu-bù*, Comasch. *bo-bó*, drink, which are also nursery words.

Bucca, preserves only the signification of *mouth*, which was commonly considered as a colloquial application, in It. *bocca*, Sp., Pr. *boca*, Fr. *bouche*.

Bucea, used by Augustus; "duas buccæas manducavi", Sueton. in Aug. 76, of course meaning mouthfuls from *bucca*. The Spanish *bozal*, muzzle, may be understood as a derivative equiv. to *bucceale* from *bucea*.

Buda; "ulvam dicunt rem, quam vulgus budam vocat", Servius in Ænead. 2. *Buda* = *Storea*, Glossæ. In the Sicilian dialect we find *buda*, rubble, *patching*; also *burda*, whereon consult Ducange.

Burdo, mule, Ulpianus; whence probably Sp., Pr. *bordon*, Fr. *bourdon*, prop, staff; comp. *Etym. Wb. I.*

Burgus in Vegetius *De arte milit.*; "castellum parvum, quem burgum vocant"; hence it was evidently an unusual word; Isidorus calls it a vulgar one; it is found also in Orosius; It. *borgo*, Sp. *burgo*, Fr. *bourg*: on the relation of these forms to Ger. *Burg* see *Etym. Wb. I.*

Burræ, in Ausonius, where it must mean *low jests*; "illepidum, rudem libellum, burras, quisquilias, ineptiasque".

Synon. with It. *borre* (plur.), Sp. *borras*: from the same root are most likely It. *burla*, a banter, a mock = *burrula*.

Burricus, buricus (a small horse, a nag), Vegetius *de re vet.*, Paulinus Nolanus, a colloquial word; "mannus, quem vulgò buricum vocant", Isid. 12.1.55. Hence Fr. *bourrique* in the double acceptation of a small inferior horse and an ass, Sp. *borrico*, It. *bricco* with the latter signification alone.

"**Burram** dicebant antiqui, quod nunc dicimus rufum, unde rustici appellant buculam, quæ rostrum habet rufum; pari modo rubens cibo ac potione ex prandio burrus appellatur". Thus Festus, p. 31. Hereon Müller observes: "glossaria Labb. *burrum*, ξανθόν, πυρρόν; Gloss. Isid. *birrus*, rufus. Primarius testis Ennius est, *Annal.* 6. 5, apud Merulam". Hence would appear to come It. *bujo* (*burrius*), Sp. *burriel*, Pr. *burel*, dark-coloured, et sim.; also, according to Voss, Sp. *borracho* drunken, = *rubens potione*, which, however, comes from *borracha*, wine-bag, wineskin; acc. to others also Sp. *burro*, ass, from the reddish tawny colour of the animal; to this word, however, we must assign another etymon, see *Etyim. Wb. I.* From the form *birrus* seem derived It. *berretta*, Sp. *birreta*, Fr. *barrette* cap; comp. Lat. *birrus* outer garment, all from the colour.

Caballus, in the præclassic and classic periods only found in the poets, subsequently in prose likewise (Freund). In Romance usage it entirely expelled the masc. *equus* (It. *cavallo*, etc., Wal. *cal*), while however traces of the fem. *equa* remained here and there. On the Latin import of the word see *Etyim. Wb. Caballarius* κέλης ἵππος, Gloss. Lat. Gr.; ἵππο-κόμος, *caballarius*, Gl. vet.; It. *cavaliere*, etc.

Cæsius, a rare word in good authors; Pr. *sais*, grey-haired, for which no other etymon presents itself.

Cambiare in Siculus Flaccus; "emendo vendendoquæ, aut cambiando mutandoquæ", next in the Lex Sal.; It. *cambiare*, *cangiare*, Sp. *cambiar*, Fr. *changer*. The form *cambire* in Charisius and Apuleius is unromanesque.

Camisia (linen under-garment, shirt), occurs first in Hieron.: "solent militantes habere lineas, quas camisias vocant", then

frequently in M. Lat. Hence It. *camicia*, Sp., Pr. *camisa*, Fr. *chemise*, Wal. *cemaſe*. The origin and antiquity of the Lat. word are unascertainable, but it was doubtless widely diffused in military usage.

Campaneus, campanius, equiv. to *campestris* among land-surveyors, who had also a subst. *campania*: "nigriores terras invenies, si in campaniis fuerit, fines rotundos habentes; si autem montuosum", etc., Lachmann, p. 332; subsequently (Greg. de Tour.) we have distinctly *campania*, a plain; It. *campagna*, Sp. *campaña* etc.

Campsare; Ennius has "campsare Leucatem": Gloss. Isid. "campsat, flectit"; It. *cansare*, to evade. Comp. the phonetic mutation in Lat. *sampsā*, *sansa*.

Capitium (feminine pectoral integument), Varro, Laberius, Pandect.; Gellius cites it as an unusual word; It. *capezzale*, neck-kerchief.

Captivare, Augustin., Vulg.; It. *cattivare*, Sp. *cautivar*, Pr. *captivar*, O. Fr. *eschaitiver*, Chronique de Benoît, I. 259.

Carricare, to lade, Hieron. acc. to Ducange: It. *caricare*, *carcare*, Sp., Pr. *cargar*, Fr. *charger*.

Casale (boundary of a farm) in the landsurveyors; see Rudorff, p. 235; afterwards frequently employed in the sense of hamlet, village: It. *casale*, small village, Sp., Pr. *casal*, O. Fr. *casel*, country-house, farm.

Cascus for *antiquus* in Ennius, Gellius, Ausonius; It. *casco*, old, caducous.

Catus for *felis*, postclassic, Palladius, Anthologia; It. *gatto*, Sp. *gato*, Pr. *cat*, Fr. *chat*; no Wal. form.

Cava for *caverna* in the landsurveyors: It., Sp., Pg., Pr. *cava*, Fr. *cave*.

Cludere for *claudere*, not unfrequently: It. *chiudere*, Pr. *clure* tog. with *claure*.

Cocio (broker), in Plautus (doubtful), and Laberius, in whom it is censured by Gellius, 16. 7, as an uncouth popular expression; frequent in M. Lat. (*cocio*, *coccio*); It. *cozzone*, O. Fr. *cosson*, in ref. to the horse-trade, Pr. *cussó* in an abusive sense; comp. for the latter form the observ. of

Festus, p. 51, "apud antiquos prima syllaba per *u* literam scribebatur."

Combinare, Augustin., Sidonius, as in the Romance languages.

Compassio, Tertull. and other ecclesiastical writers; It. *compassione*, etc.

Compūtus, Firmicus; *computum*, *compotum* in a land-surveyor: It. *conto*, Sp. *cuento*, Fr. *compte*.

Confortare, Lactantius, Cyprian; It. *confortare*, Sp. *conhortar* [obs.], Pr. *conortar*, Fr. *conforter*.

Congaudere, Tertull., Cypr.; Pr. *congauzir*, Fr. *conjouir*.

Conventare, Solinus; only traceable in Wal. *cuvuntà*, to speak to = *convenire aliquem*.

Cooperimentum, Bassus apud Gell.; It. *coprimento*, Wal. *coperemunt*, Pr. *cubrimen*.

Coopertorium, Vegetius *de re vet.*, Pandect.; It. *copertojo*, Sp., Pr. *cobertor*, O. Fr. *couwertoir*.

Coquina for *culina* in the latest Latin authors (Arnobius, Palladius, Isidorus); It. *cucina*, Sp. *cocina*, Fr. *cuisine*, Wal. *cuhnie*. *Coquinare*, It. *cucinare*, etc.

Cordatus in Ennius, Plautus (*cordate*); and again more recently in Lactantius; contracted in the equivalent Sp. *cuerdo*, Pg. *cordo*.

Cordolium, Plautus, Apuleius; It. *cordoglio*, Sp. cordojo, Pr. *cordolh*.

Coxo; "catax dicitur quem nunc coxonem vocant", observes Nonius; hence Sp. *coxo*, Pg. *coxo*, Cat. *cox*, and *coxus* in the Gloss. Isid.

Crena, in Plin. *hist. nat.* 11, 37, 68, "si lectio certa", remarks Forcellini; "aliter renis; neutra lectio a quodam hucusque explicata", observes Sillig, who places *renis* in the text. The firstnamed word has been taken to mean a cut or notch; to which would correspond Lomb. *crena*, Fr. *cran*, *créneau*.

Cunulæ, Prudentius; It. *culla*.

Dejectare for *dejacere*, Mattius apud Gell., Fr. *déjeter*, Pg. *deitar*.

Dementare (to be frantic), Lactantius; It. *dementare*, Sp. *dementar*, to fool, O. Fr. *dementer*, *se dementer*, to be unruly.

De-operire (to open), Celsus; Piedm. *durvi*, N. Pr. *durbir*, Walloon *drovi*, all synonym.

Deputare in the sense of appointing for a purpose, occurs in later writers such as Palladius, Sulpicius Severius, Macrobius; It. *deputare*, Sp. *diputar*, Pr. *deputar*, Fr. *députer*, equivalent.

Devetare, equiv. to *vetare* (doubtful passage in Quintil.); It. *divietar*, O. Sp. and Pr. *devedar*, O. Fr. *dévérer*.

Deviare, Macrobius and others; It. *deviare*, O. Sp., Pr. *deviar*, Fr. *dévoyer*.

Directura for *directio* in Vitruvius; It. *dirittura*, *drittura*, Sp. *derechura*, Pr. *dreiture*, Fr. *droiture*, uprightness.

Discursus in the sense of *sermo* Cod. Theod.; It. *discorso*.

Disseparare (for *separare*), Nazarius; It. *discevrare*, Pr. *dessebrar*, O. Fr. *dessevrer*.

Disunire Arnobius; It. *disunire*, Sp. *disunir*, Fr. *désunir*.

"**Diurnare** inusitate pro diu vivere", Gellius 17. 2. Nonius traces it to the same source, and calls it a *verbum honestum*. No Romanesque derivatives except compounds, like It. *soggiornare*, *aggiornare*, and cognate forms in the other languages.

Doga (δογή), cask or vessel for fluids, Vopiscus: It., Pr. *doga*, Wal. *doage*, Fr. *douwe*, in a distorted sign.; see *Etym. Wb. I.*

Dromo; see Greek specimens.

Ducere se (to betake oneself), in Plautus frequently ("duc te ab ædibus"), in Terence ("duxit se foras"), and Asinius Pollio similarly; in Hieron. ("ducat se"), see Schmeller's Bairisch. Wb. IV. 245; Wal. *se duce*, in same sense; It. only *condursi*, Sp. *conducirse*.

Duellum, an antiquated form for *bellum*, but still used in the Augustan age. In the Romance languages it denotes a single combat, for which, however, *battaglia* was formerly used; hence it appears to have been a word of late introduction.

Dulcire, Lucretius; Pr. *doucir*; It. only *addolcire*, Sp. *adulcir*, Fr. *adoucir*.

Duplare for *duplicare*, Festus, p. 67, afterwards revived by the jurists; It. *doppiare*, Sp., Pr. *doblar*, Fr. *doubler*.

Ebriacus for *ebrius*, Plautus apud Non., where others read *ebriolatus*; similarly Laberius apud Non.; It. *ebbriaço*, O. Sp. *embriago*, Pr. *ebriac*, Fr. Dial. *ebriat*.

Efferescere (al. *efferascere*), Ammianus; Pr. *s'esferezir*, *s'esferzir*, to be frantic or exasperated.

Exagium (a weighing), Theodosius and Valentin., *nov.* 25, Inscr. in Gruter, 647, 6, Gloss. Gr. et Lat. *ἐξάγιον*, *pensatio*; It. *saggio*, Sp. *ensayo*, Pr. *essay*, Fr. *essai*.

Excaldare, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Apicius, Marcellus Empiricus; It. *scaldare*, Wal. *scældà*, Sp. *escaldar*, Fr. *échauder*.

Excolare for *percolare*, Palladius, Vulg.; It. *scolare*, O. Sp. *escolar*, Fr. *écouler* in active or neuter sense.

Exradicare or *eradicare*, Plautus, Terence, Varro; It. *sradicare*, Sp. *eradicar*, Pr. *eradicar*, *esraigar*, Fr. *arracher*.

Extraneare, Apuleius (doubtful), It. *straniare*, Wal. *streinà*, Sp. *estrañar*, Pr. *estranhar*, O. Fr. *estrangier*, to estrange, alienate.

Falco, Servius in *Æn.* 10, 146; and in another sense in Festus, p. 88. "Falcones dicuntur, quorum digiti pollices in pedibus intro sunt curvati, a similitudine falcis"; It. *falcene*, etc.

Falsare, Pandect., Hieron.; It. *falsare*, Sp., Pr. *falsar*, Fr. *fausser*.

"**Famicosam** terram palustrem vocabant", Festus, p. 87. With this agree felicitously in sound and sense It., Sp. *fangoso*, Pr. *fangos*, miry, clayey; but the Pr. subst. *fanha*, and even the Fr. *fangeux* indicate that the Romanesque words may with more propriety be derived from the Goth. *fani*, Genit. *fanjis*.

Farnus for *fraxinus*, Vitruvius, see *Etym. Wb.* under *farnia*, II. a.

Fata for *Parca* on an inscription of Diocletian's time, and another Roman inscription; It. *fata*, Sp. *hada*, Fr. *fée*. The *Glossaire de Paris*, ed. Hildebrand, gives however *fata* = *parcæ*, and so *fatum* for the sing.; but there is no doubt that the Romance form was *fata* sing.

Fictus for *fixus*, Lucretius, Varro; It. *fitto*, Pg. *fito*, Sp. *hito*, Wal. *fipt*, stuck, fastened; M. Lat. *fictum*, a (fixed) contribution, e. g. "ficto, quod est census", *Hist. pat. monument.* n. 121, *sub anno* 963.

Filiaster for *privignus*, in inscriptions, see Forcellini; It. *figliastro*, Sp. *hijastro*, Pr. *filhastre*, O. Fr. *fillastre*.

Fissiculare, Apuleius, Martianus Capella, to wh. correspond O. Fr. *fesler*, Fr. *fêler*, as mêler to *misculare*.

Fluvidus for *fluidus*, Lucretius; the It. *fluvido* exhibits the same intrusion of a *v*.

Follicare, to fetch breath in and out like a bellows; occurs only in the participle *follicans*, in Apuleius, Tertull., Hieron.; Pg. *folgar*, Sp. *holgar*, to take breath, repose from labor, &c.

Fracidus (soft, faded), once only in Cato *de re rustica*, "olea fracida"; It. *fracido*, *fradicio* in same sense.

Frigidare, Cæl. Aur.; It. *freddare*, but only compounds in the remaining languages.

"**Gabalum** crucem dici veteres volunt", Varro apud Non., compare Fr. *gable*, the gable of a house, which certainly reminds us of the Ger. *Gabel*, see *Etym. Wb.*

Gabāta, Martial; Sp. *gābata*, N. Pr. *gaoudo*, Fr. *jatte*, It. *gavetta*, a wooden spoon or bowl. The word acquired another signification in Pr. *gauta*, It. *gota*, Fr. *joue*, cheek; see *Etym. Wb.*

Galgulus (a kind of bird), Plin. *Hist. Nat.* (doubtful), Sp. *gālgulo* goldfinch, It. *rigogolo*, yellow hammer, i. e. *auri-galgulus*.

Gaudebundus, **gaudibundus**, Apuleius; Pr. *gauzion*, *jauzion*, fem. *gauzionda*.

Gavia a bird; Plin. *Hist. Nat.*; Sp. *gavia*, Pg. *gaivota*, gull.

Genuculum for the usual form *geniculum*, may be deduced from congenuclare, Cælius apud Non.; *genuculum*, L. Sal.; It. *ginocchio*, Sp. *hinojo*, Fr. *genou*. See Pott, *Abhandlung Plattlatein.*, p. 316.

Gluto, equiv. to *gulosus* in Festus; see *ingluvies* p. 112, and like terms in Isidorus; It. *ghiottone*, Sp., Pr. *gloton*, Fr. *glouton*.

Grandire, Plautus, Pacuvius, and others; It. *grandire*, Pr., Fr. *grandir*.

Grossus, thick, Vulg., Sulpicius Severus; *grossitudo*, Solinus; It. *grosso*, Sp. *grueso*, Pr., Fr., Wal. *gros*.

Grundire for *grunnire*, a præclassie word cited by the grammarians, comes up again in Pr. *grondir*, O. Fr. *grondir*, *grondre*, comp. N. Fr. *gronder*.

Gubernum for *gubernaculum* only in Lucilius and Lucretius; It. *governo*, Pr. *govern* in same sense; Sp. *gobierno*, O. Fr. *gouverne* (fem.) only in a fig. sense. *Gubernius* for *gubernator* occurs in Laberius; *Governio*, O. Sp., for *timon* from the same etymon, Apolonio 273.

Gumia, Lucilius, Apuleius; Sp. *gomia* glutton, also goblin, comp. Lat. *manducus*.

Gyrare, Plin., Vegetius; It. *girare*, Sp. *girar*, Pr. *girar*, O. Fr. *girer*.

Halitare, Ennius; It. *alitare*, Fr. *haleter*, to pant, gasp.

Hapsus (tuft of wool), Celsus; N. Pr. *aus*, fleece.

Hereditare first occurs in Salvianus in the sense of putting in possession; It. *ereditare*, *eredare*, *redare*, Sp. *heredar*, Pg. *herdar*, Pr. *heretar*, Fr. *hériter*, to inherit.

“**Hetta** res minimi pretii . . . quum dicimus, non hettæ te facio”; see Festus, p. 99. Unquestionably preserved in It. *ette*, a trifle, in the dialects *eta*, *etta*, *etti*, *et*.

Impedicare, Ammianus; the It. has a similar form and signification, but is little used; Pr. *empedegar*, to hinder, perhaps Fr. *empêcher*.

Impostor, Hieron., Pand.; it is called by Greg. Mag. “verbum rusticum”; see Ducange; It. *impostore*, &c.

Improperare, Petronius, *improperium*, Vulg.; It. *improverare*, *rimproverare*, Sp. *improperar*, It., Sp. *improperio*.

Incapabilis, Arrianus apud Augustin.; Fr. *incapable*.

Inceptare, Plautus, Terence, Gellius; Pg. *enceitar*, Sp. *encentar*, to carve at dinner.

Incrassare, Tertull.; It. *ingrassare*, Sp. *engrasar*, Fr. *engraisser* to fatten.

Inhortari, Apuleius; only in O. Fr. *enorter*.

Intimare in various later authors; It. *intimare*, Sp., Pr. *intimar*, Fr. *intimer*.

Jejunare, Tertul.; It. *giunare*, Wal. *azunà*, Sp. *ayunar*, Fr. *jeûner*.

Jentare, Varro apud Non., instancing it as an unusual word; but also in Martial and Suetonius; Sp. *yantar*, Pg. *jantar*, *Gris. ientar*. The form *jantare* is also found in old Glossaries.

Jubilare according to a remark of Festus was a familiar word in the country; "jubilare est rustica voce inclamare"; comp. Varro *de lingua latina* 5. 6. 68; "ut quiritare urbanorum, sic jubulare rusticorum". The Christian authors apply it solely to rejoicings; hence It. *giubilare*, Sp. *jubilar*. The city word *quiritare* has also, as Scaliger and Vossius formerly believed, been preserved in the Romance languages; It. *gridar*, Sp. *gritar*, Fr. *crier*; see *Etym. Wb.*

Jucundare, Augustin., Lactantius; It. *giocondare*. Greg. de Tours very frequently uses it.

Juramentum, Pand., Ammianus, Sulp. Sev.; It. *giuramento*, Wal. *žuremynt*, Sp. *juramento*, Fr. *jurement*.

Justificare, Tertull., Prudentius; It. *giustificare*, &c.

Lacte and **lactem** (*acc.*) for *lac*; Plautus, Gellius, Apuleius, and others; It. *latte*, Sp. *leche*, Fr. *lait*, which according to the Romance laws of mutation are rather derivable from this form than from *lac*.

Lanceare, Tertull.; It. *lanciare*, Sp. *lanzar*, Fr. *lancer*.

Levisticum for *ligusticum*, Vegetius *de arte vet.*; It. *levistico*, Fr. *livèche*. The barbaric form has been entirely rejected by Freund.

Licinium (a wick), Vegetius *de arte vet.*; Sp. *lechino*, Pg. *lichino*.

Ligatio, Scribonius Largus; Pr. *liazó* (Gloss. Occit.), Fr. *liaison*, band.

Liquiritia corrupted from *γλυκύρριζα* in Theod. *de dieta*, and Vegetius; It. *legorizia*, Sp. *regaliz*, Fr. *réglisse*.

Loba (stalk of Indian corn), Plin.; Milanese *loeuva*, ear of buckwheat, &c. Thus Biondelli.

Longāno, **longābo**, gut, sausage; Varro, Cælius Aurelius, Vegetius, Apicius; Sp. *longaniza* in the second sense.

Maccus, an imbecile person, Apuleius; Sard. *maccu* has the same meaning.

Macror, a variant with *macor* for *macies*, Pacuvius; Fr. *maigreur*.

Magisterare pro regere et temperare dicebant antiqui", Festus, p. 152, 153; also in Spartianus: It. *maestrare*, O. Sp. *maestrar*, Pr. *maiestrar*, O. Fr. *maistrer*, to direct.

Malitas, a variant in the Pandectæ; Sp. *maldad*.

Mamma for *mater*; a nursery word, Nonius from Varro; It. *mamma*, Sp. *mama*, Fr. *maman*, Wal. *mame*, in this last language the regular word for *mother*, and also written *mumē*.

Mammare for *lactare*, Augustin.; Sp. *mamar*.

Manducare among later authors very frequently used for *edere*; It. *mangiare*, O. Pg., Pr. *manjar*, Fr. *manger*.

Masticare (μαστράζειν), for *mandere*, post-classic: Apul., Theod., Prisc., Macer; It. *masticare*, Sp. *mascar*, Pr. *mastegar*, Fr. *mâcher*.

Mattus for *ebrius*, Petronius; hence perhaps the It. *matto*, mad.

Medietas, an expression wh. Cicero scrupled to use, and only applied as a translation of the Gr. μεσότης; "bina media, vix enim audeo dicere medietates"; see Freund; It. *medietà*, Sp. *mitad*, Pr. *meytat*, Fr. *moitié*. Frequent in earlier M. Lat., e. g. in Marini, p. 103^m, 107^a, 117^a, and in the landsurveyors.

Meiare for *meiere*, is cited by Diomedes without comment, see Forcellini; to this correspond Pg. *mijar*, Sp. *mear*, wh. might, however, even without this intervening Latin form have been derived from *meiere*.

Melicus for *mēdicus* (Median), a common enuntiation, which Varro censures; Sp. *mielga* from *melica* = *medica* (Lucerne i. e. vetches).

Meliorare, Cod. Justin., Pand.; It. *migliorare*, Sp. *mejorar*, Pr. *melhurar*, Fr. *améliorer*.

Mensurare, Vegetius *de re mil.*; It. *misurare*, &c.

Minaciæ, instead of *minæ* only in Plautus; It. *minaccia*, Sp. *a-menaza*, Pr. *menassa*, Fr. *menace*.

Minare, meaning, to drive cattle by means of threats, Apuleius; comp. Paulus Diaconus following Festus; hence

for ducere; It. *menare*, Pr. *menar*, Fr. *mener*. Compare *prominare* Apuleius, Fr. *promener*.

Minorare, Tertul., Pand.; It. *minorare*, Sp. *menorar*.

Minutalis for *minutus*, Apul., Tertul., Hieron., and earlier authors; It. *minutaglia* = *minutalia*, a trifle.

Modernus, first in Priscianus and Cassiodorus from the adverb modo; It., Sp. *moderno*, Fr. *moderne*.

Molestare, Petronius, Apuleius, and others; It. *molestare*, &c.

Molina for *mola*, Ammianus; Pr. *molina*; masculines, It. *mulino*, Sp. *molino*, Fr. *moulin*.

Morsicare, to bite the lips, Apuleius; It. *morsicare*, to seize with the teeth.

Murcidus (sluggish), only Pomponius apud Augustin.; Pg. *murcho*, flabby, faded; no Sp. form.

Naufragare, Petronius, Sidonius; in same sense It. *naufregare*, Sp. *naufregar*.

Nervium (νεῦρον) for *nervus*, Varro apud Non., also Petronius; Sp. *nervio*, Pr. *nervi*.

Netidare, Ennius, Columella, Palladius: It. *nettare*, to clean.

Obsequiæ for *exsequiæ*, in inscriptions, comp. Ducange; O. Sp., Pr. *obsequias*, Fr. *obsèques*.

Obviare, a postclassic word; It. *ovviare*, Sp. *obviar*; older forms were *uviar*, and others; Fr. *obvier*.

Octuaginta for *octoginta* only in Vitruvius; very frequent in the Chronicles of the Mid. ages, e. g. *Hist. patriæ Monum.* n. 90, 98. To *octuaginta* It. *ottanta* is related as *settanta* to *septuaginta*; in the two former an imitation of the two latter may be traceable. Or has *octuaginta* a real grammatical propriety?

Olor for *odor*, Varro, Apuleius; It. *olore*; Sp., Pr. *olor*, O. Fr. *olour*.

Orbus for *cæcus*; "orba est quæ patrem aut filios quasi lumen amittit", Paulus from Festus, p. 183, and elsewhere; see *Etym. Wb.*; It. *orbo*, Wal., Pr., O. Fr. *orb* in same sense.

Ossum for *os ossis* among the ancients (Pacuvius, Varro, and others); It. *osso*, Sp. *hueso*, wh. are more readily connected with the first form than with the second.

Pala for scapula, used by Cælius Aurelius; Sard. *pala* in same sense.

Palitari, a frequentative from *palari*, Plautus; hence possibly It. *paltone* (for *palitone*, like *faltare* for *fallitare*), landloper, beggar.

Panucula for *panicula*, Festus, p. 220; "panus facit diminutivum panucula"; It. *pannocchia*, Sp. *panoja* in same sense.

Papa for *pater*, in nursery language; Fr. *papa*, &c.; see *Etym. Wb.*

Papilio, in the sense of *tent* in Lampridius, and subsequent writers; It. *padiglione*, Sp. *pabellon*, Fr. *pavillon*.

Paraveredus (παρά-veredus, a light spare-horse), Cod. Theod., Cod. Just.; M. Lat. *parafredus*, Leg. Bav.; It. *pala-freno*, Sp. *palafren*, Fr. *palefroi*, ambling horse, palfrey.

Pauper, a, um, Plautus apud Serv., Cæl. Aurel.; It. *povero*, never *povere* like Sp. *pobre*; but Pr. *paubre*, *paubra*, *paubramen*.

Pausare, Cæl. Aurel., Veget. *de re vet.*; It. *pausare*, Sp. *pausar*, Fr. *pauser*, etc.; and in sense of setting It. *posare*, Sp. *posar*, Fr. *poser*.

Peduculus for *pediculus* first in Pelagonius; "*peduculus* = φθελγ", Gloss. Philox.; It. *pidocchio*, Sp. *piojo*, Fr. *pou*.

Pejorare, Julius Paulus, Cæl. Aurel.; It. *peggiore*, O. Sp. *peorar*, Pr. *peyorar*, Fr. *empirer*.

Petiolus (small foot, fruitstalk), Afranius apud Non., Celsus, Colum.; It. *picciuolo* in the latter sense, Wal. *picior*, a foot.

Petricosus, in Mart. 3. 63; "res petricosa est, Cotile, bellus homo". Thus the oldest editions; others give *pertriosa*, some *prætriosa*. The first form would mean stony, troublesome, which might remind us of *scrupulosus* from *scrupulus*, *scrupus*. Cabrera (I. 12) recognises herein the Sp. *pedregoso*, stony, which is found as early as A. D. 972 in the form *pedregosus*; a N. Pr. *peiregous* is known to Honnorat. From *petra* indeed *petricosus* could not have been derived directly: we want an intermediate derivative, as may be seen by *bell-ic-osus*. Romanesque diction, however, seems actually to have possessed such a derivative, of which it has made use in Sp. *pedr-eg-al* (stony field), *peir-eg-ada*, Pr. (hailstorm),

seeing that it is but very rarely that it spontaneously applies the suffix *icus* to nominal formations.

Pilare for *expilare*, Ammianus; It. *pigliare*, Sp., Pr. *pillar*, Fr. *pillier*, to take, pillage, &c.; see *Etym. Wb.*

Pipio (small bird, pigeon), Lampridius; It. *pippione*, *piccione*, Sp. *pichon*, Fr. *pigeon*.

Pisare for *pinsere*, Varro; hence Sp. *pisar*, Fr. *piser*, Wal. *pisà*. Similarly *pistare* Vegetius *de re vet.*, Apuleius; It. *pestare*, Sp. *pistar*, Pr. *pestar*.

Plagare for *plagam ferre*, Augustin.; It. *piagare*, Sp. *plagar*, *llagar*, Pg. *chagar*, Pr. *plagar*, O. Fr. *plaièr*.

"**Plancæ** dicebantur tabulæ planæ", Festus, p. 230; see also Palladius; It. *pianca* (in Piedm.), Pr. *planca*, Fr. *planche*.

Plotus (flat-footed), Festus; hence probably It. *piota*, foot-sole; see *Etym. Wb.*

Possibilis, as early as Quintil., who calls it "*dura adpelatio*"; more frequently, and with *possibilitas*, in subsequent authors; It. *possibile*, &c.

Potestativus, Tertul.; Pr. *potestatiu*, O. Fr. *poesteif*.

Præstus, from the adv. *præsto*, Inscr. apud Gruter. p. 669, n. 4; L. Sal.; It., Sp. *presto*, Pr. *prest*, Fr. *prêt*.

Proba, Ammianus, Cod. Just.; It. *prova*, &c.

Pronare, from *pronus*, Sidon., *adpronare*, Apuleius; Sp. "*de-prunar por el val*", to descend through the valley, *Cid*, 1501. The subst. *prunada* is equivalent to *caida* or *desgracia*, according to Sanchez on Berceo.

Propaginare, Tertul.; It. *propagginare*, Pr. *probainar*, Gloss. Occit., Fr. *provigner*.

Propiare for *propè accedere*, Paulinus Rolanus; It. *approcciare*, Pr. *apropchar*, Fr. *approcher*.

Pullare, instead of the usual *pullulare*, is used by Calpurnius, *Ecl.* 5; It. *pollare* is nearer to the first than to the second, which, if *urlare* from *ululare*, and *pillola* in same lang. be taken into account, can scarcely be conceived to be contracted into *pollare*.

Pullicenus for *pullus gallinaceus* occurs in Lampridius; Pr. *pouzi*, Fr. *poussin*.

Putus for *puer*, a popular word; It. *putto*, Sp., Pg. *puto*. *Putillus*, a dimin. in Plautus, It. *puttello*. See *Etym. Wb.* I.

Quiritare; see *jubilare* above.

Rallus, probably meaning thin in tissue; “*vestis ralla*”, Plautus; Sp., Pg. *ralo*, Fr. in Dial. *rale*, Alban. *rale* in same sense.

Rancor (grudge), Hieron.; It. *rancore*, O. Sp., Pr. *rancor*, O. Fr. *rancœur*, everywhere in same sense.

Refrigerium, Tertul., Orosius; It. *refrigerio*, &c.

Reicere for *rejicere* in the time of Servius; see Schneider, I. 581; It. *récere*, to vomit, in a still more contracted form.

Rememorare, Tertul.; It. *rimembrare*, O. Sp., Pr. *remem-brar*, O. Fr. *remembrer*.

Repatriare, Solinus; It. *ripatriare*, Sp. *repatriar*, Pr. *repa-rar*, O. Fr. *repairer*.

Retractio (revocation, curtailment), Vitruvius, Macrobius, Arnobius; Pr. *retraissó*, reproach, censure.

Rostrum for *os oris*, Plautus, Lucilius, Varro, Petronius, Pand.; Sp. *rostro*, Pg. *rosto*, countenance, Wal. *rost*, mouth.

Ruidus (rough), Plin. *hist. nat.*; It. *ruvido*, in same sense; see *Etym. Wb.* II. a. Perhaps also preserved in the Spanish *rudo*.

“**Rumare** dicebant quod nunc ruminare”, Festus, p. 270, 271. Herewith agrees the Italian *rumare*, which might, however, have been a syncopated form of *ruminare*, as *nomare* of *nominare*.

Rumigare for *ruminare*, Apuleius; Sp. *rumiar*.

Rumpus (a vine-shoot trained from tree to tree), only in Varro; It. (in the Ticino) *romp* in same sense.

Ruspari, *ruspare*, to search thoroughly, Accius apud Non., Apuleius, Tertul., comp. Festus; according to Voss the primary meaning was to scrape; in behalf of this view the It. *ruspare* might be cited.

Saga, Ennius; more usually *sagum*; It. *saja*, Sp., Pr. *saya*, O. Fr. *saie*, a woollen undergarment or the like.

Sanguisuga, Plin. 8. 10, "hirudinem, quam sanguisugam vulgo cœpisse appellari adverto"; It., Pg. *sanguisuga*, Sp. *sanguija* (for *sanjuga*), *sanguijuela*, Pr. *sancsuga*, Fr. *sang-sue*.

Sapius for *sapiens*, traceable in the compounds *nesapius*, Petronius, Terentius Scaurus; It. *saggio*, Sp. *sabio*, Pr. *sabi*, *satge*, Fr. *sage*. Comp. *Etym. Wb.* I.; [comp. *Sapia*, It. proper name in Dante. Tr.]

"**Sarpere** antiqui pro putare dicebant", Festus, p. 322; hence O. Fr. *sarpe*, N. Fr. *serpe*, a pruning knife.

Scalpturire, see *Etym. Wb. sub voc.* scalterire II. a.

Scamillus, and in Prisc. *scamellum*, dimin. of *scamnum*; Sp. *escamel*, Pt. *escaimel*, O. Fr. *eschamel*.

Senectus as an adj. is rare and mostly præclassic (Freund), as in Plautus, Lucretius, Sallustius. The likewise rare Sp. form *senexho* ("muy senechas las quixadas", with old or hoary cheeks, *Cancionero de Baena*, p. 106) can with strict propriety be derived only from *senectus*.

"**Sermoari** rusticius videtur, sed *rectius*; sermocinari crebrius est, sed corruptius", Gellius 17. 2; It. *sermonare*, Pr. *sermonar*, Fr. *sermonner*.

Sifflare for *sibilare*, an antiquated form according to Nonius, survives in Fr. *siffler*.

Singillas, assumable from *singillarius* for *singularius*, Tert., Pg. *singilo*.

Solitaneus for *solitarius* in Theodorus Priscianus; O. Fr. *soltain*, e. g., "les voies soltaines et gastes", Brut. 2. 291; M. H. G. *Soltâne*, the wilderness.

Somnolentus for the usual *somniculosus*, in Apuleius, Solinus; It. *somnolento*, Sp. *soñoliento*, Pr. *somnolent*. *Somnolentia*, Sidon., It. *sonnolenza*, &c.

Sortus; 'surregit et sortus antiqui ponebant pro surrexit et ejus participio, quasi sit surrectus', Festus, p. 297; It. *sorto* from *srgere*.

Spatha (σπάθη), a broad longish tool like a shovel; a broadsword, and in this sense probably a "vocabulum castrense", occurring as early as Tacitus in *Ann.* 12. 35, "gladiis ac pilis legionariorum . . spatheis et hastis auxiliarium"; also in Vegetius, *de re mil.* 2. 15, "gladios majores, quos spathas vo-

cant", and elsewhere. In the Rom. languages it has retained the meaning of *sword*; It. *spada*, Wal. *spatē*, Sp., Pr. *espada*, Fr. *épée*.

Spathula, usually *spatula*, dimin. of the preceding, denotes, as *σπάθη* did, the shoulder-blade, or a long rib of an animal; Apicius has "*spatula porcina*": hence It. *spalla*, Sp. *espalda*, Pg. *espádoa*, Pr. *espatla*, Fr. *épaule*, shoulder.

Species in the sense of spice is found in Macrobius, Palladius, and others; It. *spezie*, *spezj*, Sp. *especia*, Fr. *épice*.

Stagnum for *stannum* may be inferred from *stagnatus*, *stagneus*; It. *stagno*, Sp. *estaño*, Pr. *estanh*, Fr. *étain*.

Stiloppus, *sclopus*, a smack, or clap, Persius; It. *stioppo*, *schioppo*, in same sense. Hence also M. Lat. *schupare*, L. Sal.

Striga, used in the two meanings of a nocturnal bird and a witch by Petronius and Apuleius, has preserved the second in its Romanesque forms; It. *strega*, Pg. *estriu*, O. Fr. *estrie*, Wal. *strigoe*.

Struppis (band, strap), Gracchus apud Gell.; It. *stróppolo*, Fr. *étrope*, Sp. *estrovo*, rope, cable.

Subsannare (to mock), Tert., Nemesianus, Hieron.; O. Sp. *sosanan* in same sense, perhaps also Pr. *soanar*, O. Fr. *sooner*.

Suis for *sus*, Prudentius; hence perhaps Sp. *soez*, dirty.

Tata for *pater*, in nursery language, Varro apud Non., Mart., Inscriptions; It. in dial. *tata*, Wal. *tate*, Sp. *taita*.

"**Taurus** vaccas steriles appellari ait Verrius, quæ non magis rapiant (pariant) quam tauri", Festus, p. 352, 353; Pg. *toura*, a barren cow, Pr. *toriga*, and in another sense Fr. *taure*.

Taxare, originally to feel, handle. Gellius, 2 6, says, "*taxare pressius crebriusque quam tangere, unde procul dubio id inclinatum est*", to the same effect Festus. This alleged signification, of which no example is given, survives in the Romanesque iterative *tastare*, i. e. *taxiture*.

Termen for *terminus*, Varro *de ling. Lat.* The Italian *termine* cannot come from *terminus*, nor rigidly speaking from *termen*, but presupposes a masc., making acc. *terminem*; comp. in the land-surveyors "*terminibus, qui distant*". The plural

O.F.
(ch. de k)
espade
espalle
647, 1344, 3160.

terminia produced in M. Lat. on the one hand the sing. *terminium*, Pr. *termini*, on the other the fem. *terminia*. See Pott in the *Zeitschr. für Alterth.* II. 486.

Testa, in the sense of brainpan, Prudentius, Ausonius, Cælius; It., Sp., Pr. *testa*, Fr. *tête*, head.

Tina (a wine cask), Varro apud Non.; It., Sp., Pr. *tina*, Fr. *tine*, Alb. *tinę*, barrel, and the like; a colloquial word.

Tinnitare, equiv. to *tinnire*, *Carm. de Philom.*; Fr. *tinter*.

Tragula for *traha*, Varro; formally connected with Fr. *traille*, drawbridge.

Tribulare, to press or plague, Tertul.; It. *tribolare*, O. Fr. *tribouiller*. [A Fr. translator, M. Gaston Paris, compares *tribler* in the Oxford Psalter.]

Trico, Lucilius; Comasc. *trigon*, loiterer.

Trusare, frequent. of *trudere*, Catull.; Lomb. *trusà*, Pr. *trusar*, to bump.

Turio (a sprout), Colum.; Cat. *toria*, vine-sprig.

Unio (1. unity, union in Tert., Hieron.; It. *unione*. 2.) Onion in Columella; Pr. *uignon*, Fr. *oignon*.

Vacivus, Plautus, Terence; Sp. *vacéo*.

Valentia, Nævius, Titinnius, Macrobius; It. *valenza*, &c.

Vallus, dimin. of *vannus*, Varro; It. *vaglio*.

Vanare, to fool with idle words, Accius apud Non.; It. *vanare*, to dote, usually *vaneggiare*, Sp. *vanear* only, Pr. *vanar*, to brag.

Vasca tibia in Solinus seems to denote a "German flute" [Querflöte] (Freund); it perhaps casually coincides with Pr. *bascunc* (? for *bascuenc*) Honnorat., Gloss. Occ., which is translated "de travers".

Vasum for *vas*, Plautus, Cato, Petronius, and others; It., Sp., Pg. *vaso*, never *vase*.

Veruina, from *veru*, Plautus, comp. Fulgentius Planciades; It. *verrina*, gimblet; the *u* being dropped, as often happens.

Victualis, Apuleius, Cod. Just., subst. *victualia* (victuals) occurs first in Cassiodorus; It. *vettovaglia*, Sp. *vitualia*, Pr. *vitoalha*, *vitalha*; O. Fr. *vitaille*; so in the Form. Bignon. n.

13, we have *vitalia* without the *u*, perhaps from a supposed analogy to *vita*.

Vidulus, a coffer, or wallet, Plautus; as to how this may have produced It. *valigia*, Fr. *valise*, see *Ety. Wb.*

Vilescere, Avienus; O. Sp. *vilescer*, Pr. *vilzir*.

Viscidus (clammy, &c.), Theod. Priscian.; hence apparently the Italian *vincido*, soft.

Vitulari (to frolic, prop. to move like a calf, unless *vitulari* is the true quantity); Plautus, Ennius, Nævius, and others; Pr. *viular*, *violar* to fiddle, &c. Subst. *viula*, *viola*, It., Sp. *viola*, M. Lat. *vitulus*, a fiddle. See *Ety. Wb.*

Volentia, Apuleius, Solinus; according to Nonius a rare word; It. *voglienza*, will, inclination.

Vorsare for *versare*; O. Sp. *bosar* or *vosar*, to pour out; It. *versare*.

The above copious list has no doubt been suffered to include many words which had no special claim to be considered as popular. But how would it have been possible to avoid all errors? It was only by a mass of examples that any purpose could have been effected; several of these may fall to the ground, without the total effect of the collection sustaining any vital injury. It is moreover conceivable, that the Romance languages may have formed by their own resources many of the adduced prepositional compounds, such as *abbreviare*, *appropriare*, *disseparare*, *incrassare*, *rememorare*, or of the derivatives, such as *dulcire* (comp. Fr. *aigrir*, *brunir*, *rougir*), *captivare*, *frigidare*, *molestare*, *tinnitare*, *vanitare*, *amarescere*, *vilescere*, *macror*, *malitas*, *solitaneus*, as indeed this mode of proceeding is an abundantly usual one in them. But on what grounds are we to assume the reiterated creation of identical words? It must be owned, however, that during the decline of Latinity we encounter many words, which were wanting to the earlier literature, and which yet cannot be considered as merely popular; they rather seem for the most part to have been freely formed by the authors, and especially by such of them as were ecclesiastics (compare Funccius *de vegeta Latinæ linguæ senectute*, cap. 11. sec. 10, et seq.),

and to have been first introduced into the language of the time in a purely literary guise. But the most important elements in the above vocabulary are those words of which Latin literature has preserved to us nothing but indirect evidences of their existence, or else isolated examples of their use, while on Romance ground they have extended their products very widely. Such are, for instance, *bassus*, *boja*, *brisa*, *buda*, *burra*, *campare*, *crena*, *grassus*, *hapsus*, *hetta*, *maccus*, *olor*, *planca*, *plotus*, *putus*, *rallus*, *ruspari*, *sarpere*, *stloppus*, *struppus*, *tina*. Here again the question presents itself, whether any primitives, which cannot be traced in the ancient literature, may have maintained their existence in the modern language. The possibility of this case can certainly not be derived; but still no great store of examples can be expected to turn up, because the primitive, if the Roman still possessed it, must have offered itself to his use as readily at least as the derivative, while the modern languages, on the other hand, have a strongly marked partiality for the derivatives. Nevertheless a few cases of this kind may be discerned, e. g. It. *gracco*, jay, Lat. *gracculus* only; Pg. *fraga*, rough ground, Lat. *fragosus*, rough, uneven, see *Etym. Wb.*; O. It. *marco*, hammer, Lat. *marculus*; It. *mazza*, Pr. *massa*, Fr. *masse*, club; Lat. *mateola*, mallet or beetle, which presupposes *matea* = *mazza*; It. *mozzo*, mave of a wheel, Lat. *modiolus*, from *modius* which does not occur in this sense; O. Fr. *sap*, fir-tree, Lat. *sappinus*; Wal. *vite*, cattle (Alb. *viſ*, calf or bullock), Lat. *vitulus*. So we sometimes have simple forms, where the Latin has only compounds, as Sp., Pr. *cobrar*, O. Fr. *coubrier*, to get hold of, Lat. *recuperare*; It *turare*, Sp. *turar*, to stop up, Lat. *obturare*; but how easily the preposition might have been lost! Rare technical expressions have been almost entirely left out of the list, because the rarity of their appearance is not founded on their lack of propriety, but on the nature of the case. Here, however, the Latin philologer may find something to learn from the Romanesque. There are, in fact, in the ancient literature not a few natural-historical expressions, of which the specific sense cannot be sufficiently ascertained; but so far as they survive

in the modern languages, we can seldom go far wrong if we endeavour thence to extract their meaning, which may be done, for instance, with *avis tarda* (Sp. *avutardo*), *cæcilia*, (It. *cicigna*), *carduelis* (It. *cardellino*), *dasytus* (Sp. *gazapo*), *farnus* (It. *farnia*), *galgulus* (Sp. *galgulo*), *gallicus canis* (Sp. *galgo*), *gavia* (Sp. *gavia*, *gaviota*), *melis* (M. Lat. *melo*, *melonis*, Neap. *mologna*), *nepeta* (Sp. *nebeda*), *opulus* (It. *oppio*), *secale* (It. *se-gola*, Fr. *seigle*), *tinca* (It. *tinca*, Fr. *tanche*).

It need hardly be remarked, that there are also many words cited by the ancients as popular, which, however, are not to be met with in the whole Romance vocabulary.

The examples hitherto considered of Latin archaisms and idioms that have been transmitted to the modern languages have been drawn from authors who are separated from us by the middle ages. Chronologically, however, the Latin elements in these languages divide themselves into two classes, those known to us through the ancient literature, and those that were taken up in the low Latin literature. These latter elements are in part mere literal modifications, like *callare* for *captare*, *colpus* for *colaphus*, *cosinus* for *consobrinus*; in part new formations like *auca*, *capa*, *companium*, *furo*, *plagia*, *poledrus*; in others the Latin formation rests upon conjecture only. Without doubt there is a part that was not produced in the middle ages, but reaches far back into antiquity; for who can ever believe that words like *auca*, *furo*, *plagia*, which in the year 600 are in use as universally known, and of genuine Latin breed, and which afterwards pervade nearly all the Romance dialects, could have developed themselves in the provinces within the interval of 150 years that had elapsed from the overthrow of the Western Empire, and could have forthwith obtained admission into the literary language of the times? Moreover, as to *auca* for *avica* (*avis*), it is evidently more of a Latin than of a Romance formation, inasmuch as the daughters of the Latin language scarcely continue to make any use of the termina-

tion *ica*; while as to *furo*, it has preserved in Italian its genuine antique signification of *arch-thief*. Even other words, which we do not encounter in mediæval Latinity, may claim a Latin origin in right of their form. For instance, the It. *ripido* steep, points to a Latin original, because the Romanesque speaker never applies the suffix *idus* to new formations; from *ripa* arose *ripidus*, as from *viscus*, *viscidus*. To make the antiquity of a word depend absolutely on its first appearance in accessible documents, is a procedure, doubtless, of diplomatic propriety, but a superficial one, because it inevitably does violence to the history of language. Many a Latin word contained in the above list might have been, but for its casual appearance in a single author, given over to mediæval Latinity; and many a Romance element of antique lineage might, without such evidence of its origin, have been sought and perhaps traced in foreign languages. Thus it might well have fared, for instance, with the Italian *can-sare*, had not Priscianus preserved *campusare* for us in a fragment of Ennius. In our estimation of middle-Latin and Romanesque words we must never forget, that it is only a large fragment that we still possess of the Latin vocabulary, and that the stage of culture, which the Romans had reached, their arts, their manufactures, and their social institutions presuppose a larger stock of the like than that which has been handed down to us, of which indeed a considerable portion has only been preserved in Glossaries. Many of these expressions, especially where they are of a technical nature, may have recovered their practical application in mediæval Latinity. *

Among the middle-Latin writings, which promise the greatest discoveries in old-Latin words, the lexicographical stand fore-

* This question has of late been handled with much discernment by Pott in his treatise on low-Latin and Romance (*Platt-lateinisch und Romanisch*, in Aufrecht and Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* I. 309). A new edition of the ancient glossaries had already been called for by Ruhnken "ut (quis juniorum literatorum) linguam Latinam, de cujus inopia vetus querela est, aliquot mille vocabulis ac formis nondum cognitis locupletet"; see Bernhardy's *Römische Litt.-Geschichte*, p. 302. 2^d edition.

most. In the highest rank should be named the "*Origines*" or "*Etymologie*" of the erudite and instructive Bishop Isidorus of Sevilla (635—636), especially on account of the eleven last books. The design of the author, properly speaking, was only to explain pure Latin words; but he nevertheless takes many in that are not Latin, and he cites others explicitly as vulgar, or even as Spanish, which are for the most part found again in Spanish. This book excels, not so much in copiousness as in authenticity and correctness, the old glossaries which have not yet been collectively published. Among these that of Placidus (probably belonging to the sixth century), though one of the oldest and purest, is not a productive one for our present purposes. Of much more importance is the much corrupted glossary that has been attributed to Isidorus himself. This author, as well as Placidus, drew largely upon the genuine work of Festus, but he is not deficient in words of the latest coinage, as *badare*, *ballatio*, *borda*, *campio*, *cocistro*, *pilasca*, *pilotellus* and the like, including even some German elements, as *lecator*, *frea*, of which the latter is from the *Leges Longob.* There is less to be gained from the Greco-Latin Glossaries: the German-Latin, however, supply valuable materials. Highest among these stand the Cassel Glosses, in a manuscript apparently belonging to the 8th century (edited by W. Grimm, Berlin 1848); the Latin half of this glossary exhibits such a strong inclination to Romance peculiarities, that the forms which appear in it are often altogether Romanesque. Next to these we must place the dictionary of St. Gallus, referred to the seventh century (which is printed in W. Wackernagel's *Lesebuch*, I. 27, in Hattemer's *Denkmäler*, I. 11). Many other similar, and in part much more comprehensive works, as the Parisian Glosses (edited by Graff, *Diutiska*, I. 128), the Schlettstadt (by Wackernagel, see Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, V. 318), the *Vocabularius Optimus* (by the same editor, Basel 1847), the Latin and Anglo-Saxon at Erfurt (by Oehler, *Jahrb. der Philologie* by Jahn and Klotz, Suppl. XIII., p. 257, et seq.), and lastly, a few German-Latin dialogues of the 9th century (W. Grimm, Berlin 1851), afford us, in bad Latin, some

welcome aids to Romance philology. These grammatical are, however, surpassed, by a jurisprudential document, going back to the earliest periods of the Middle Ages, the *Lex Salica*, in which the Romance form of speech irrepressibly comes forward; compare Pott's important treatise on the linguistic aspect of this celebrated law (Höfer's *Zeitschrift*, III., 113, Aufrecht and Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* I., 331). Furthermore the old German codes, the declarations of rights, among which those of Marculfus appear to date from the middle of the 7th century, and all the most ancient charters, belong to the sources of the old Romance dictionary. To these monuments of the Middle Ages we must add the later or interpolated writings of the Roman landsurveyors, especially the semibarbarian *Casæ litterarum*, which is "the strangest fragment in the whole collection, and the most corrupted by long scholastic use" (Rudorff, p. 406—409); compare Galvani in the *Archivio Storico* 14. 369, and Pott in the *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, XII. 219.

The following list includes a selection of middle-Latin words and forms, which are traced again in Romance diction, besides examples of various classical words with novel significations. It is limited for the most part to the epoch of Charlemagne, before which greater purity in form may be looked for than in subsequent times, when the already more highly developed popular language begins to enrich the middle-Latin with a greater number of obscure or misinterpreted forms. Ducange's inestimable work is the principal source from which this list is drawn; it has left us the task of adding the most necessary Romance forms, and, where it seemed requisite, their derivation.

Accega (woodcock), Gloss. Erford.; It. *acceggia*, Sp. *arcea*, Fr. Dial. *acée*; derivable from *acies*.

Acia = *ala*, Gloss. Isid., a legitimate etymon for Pg. *aza*, wing, if we had not reason to refer to *axilla* = *ala*; see Grævius, *Anmerkungen*.

Aciarium, *acciarium*, *στόμωμα*, Gloss. Lat.-Gr. (steel); It. *acciajo*, Sp. *acero*, Fr. *acier*. From *acies*.

Adplanare, Gloss. Ísid.; It. *applanare*, Pr. *aplanar*.

Ala, "inula, quam alam rustici vocant", Isid. 17. 11; Sp., Pg. *ala*, It. *ella*.

Amaricare for *amarum reddere*, Class. auct. 6. 506; It. *amaricare*, Sp., Pr. *amargar*.

Ambactia, *ambaxia*, commission. L. Sal.; Goth. *andbahti*; It. *ambascia*, embarrassment; see *Etym. Wb.*

Amma; "hæc avis (strix) *vulgo* dicitur amma ab amando parvulas, unde et lac præbere fertur nascentibus", says Isidorus 12. 7; Sp., Pg. *ama* only in the sense of nurse; in Hesychius ἀμμα.

Ascilla, *ascella*, corrupted in the Romance manner from *axilla*, occurs in Isid., Greg. de Tours, and many other auth.; It. *ascella*, Pr. *aissela*.

Astrosus, "quasi malo sidere natus", Isid. 10. 13; Sp., Pg. *astroso*, unlucky.

Astrus, *astrum* (hearth), and derivative *astricus*, Gloss. Sangall.; Fr. *âtre*, Lomb. *astrac*, N. H. G. *estrich*; perhaps from *asser*.

Auca for *anser*; "accipiter, qui aucam mordet", Leg. Alam.; "aucas tantas, fasianos tantos", Form. Marc.; afterwards very usual; see the above paragraphs; Pr. *auca*, Sp. *auca*, *oca*, Fr. *oie*.

Baburrus = *stultus*, Isid. 10. 31; comp. It. *babbaccio*, *bab-beo*, *babbuino*, a lout, Sp. *babia*, stupidity, Lat. *babulus* for *fatuus* in Apuleius.

Baia; "hunc (portum) veteres a bajulandis mercibus vocabant baias", Isid. 14. 8; It. *baja*, Sp. *bahia*, Fr. *baie*. The origin of this word is uncertain.

Ballare, deducible from subst. *ballatio*; "choreis et ballationibus", Gloss. Isid.; It. *ballare*, Sp. *bailar*, O. Fr. *baler*. Probably of German origin.

Balma (grot), as a geographical name occurs in very old documents; Pr. *balma*, O. Fr. *balme*, *baume*; of uncertain origin.

Barbanus, "quod est patruus", Leg. Longob. (Rothari, leg. 163); It. *barbano*; from *barba*.

Baro, barus (man, free man), Leg. Sal., Rip., Alam., and elsewhere frequent in middle-Lat.; thence It. *barone*, Fr. *baron*, Sp. *varon*. On the origin of this important word see *Etym. Wb.*

Basca (a sort of vessel); “cum casa, et furno et basca”; see Maffei, *Stor. Diplom.* 272, sub anno 650; according to Muratori the It. *vasca* from *vas*.

Baselus; “phaselus est navigium, quem nos corrupte baselum dicimus”, Isid. 19. 1. The Sp. *baxel*, *vaxel*, which Isidorus had in his eye, corresponds to the It. *vascello*, Fr. *vaisseau*, and comes from the Lat. *vas*, *vasculum*; comp. *vascellum* in Gruter’s Inscriptions; for initial *ph* would hardly become *b* in Spanish.

Bostar, “locus ubi stant boves”, Gloss. Isid.; Sp. *bostar*, Pg. *bostal*, oxstall.

Branca, claw, in the phrases “branca lupi” and “branca ursi” in one of the land-surveyors, Lachm. p. 309; *branca leonis* (botan.) occurs also in M. Latin; It., O. Sp., Pr. *branca*, Fr. *branche*, Wal. *brënce*. Another word of uncertain origin.

Caballicare, to ride; “si quis caballum sine permissu domini sui ascenderit, et eum caballicaverit”, L. Sal., and also frequently elsewhere; It. *cavalcare*, Sp. *cabalgar*, Fr. *chevaucher*.

Cæcula, a kind of serpent, Isid. 12. 4; compare It. *ciecolina*, a very small kind of eel.

Cai (kai), “cancellæ”, i. e. *cancelli*, Gloss. Isid.; Sp. *cayos*, (plur.), Pg. *caes*, Fr. *quai* (Welsh. *cae*, an inclosure).

Caldaria (kettle), Grég. de Tours; It. *caldaja*, Sp. *caldera*, Fr. *chaudière*, in same sense.

Cama; “in camis, i. e. in stratis”, see Isidorus, 19. 22, who again says (20. 11): “cama est brevis et circa terram; Græcis enim χαμαι breve dicunt”; only in the Sp., and Pg. as *cama*, a bed, straw, &c.; *acamar* is to sleep on the ground. The Isidorian derivation seems correct.

Cambuta (a crooked staff), *cabuta* in a record of A. D. 533; see Bréqu. n. 15; comp. Pertz, Mon. Germ. II. p. 14; Sp. *gambote*, arched timbers (*naut.*); the word is related to *gamba*.

Caminata (a room that can be heated), in the oldest Mid. Latin; It. *camminata*, a hall, Fr. *cheminée*, chimney.

Caminus for *ria*; "quomodo currit in camino S. Petri", as we read of king Wamba in a Spanish charter; It. *cammino*, Sp. *camino*, Fr. *chemin*. Comp. Welsh *cam*, a step.

Campana (a bell, as coming from Campania), explained by Isidorus 16. 24, by "*statera unius lancis*", a steelyard; It., Sp., Pr. *campana*.

Campiones = "*gladiatores, pugnatores*", Gloss. Isid.; It. *campione*, Sp. *campeon*, Fr. *champion*; from *campus*.

Canava = *camea* (? *camera*) post *cœnaculum*", Gloss. Isid., a pantry; It. *cánova*; of unknown origin.

Canna (a can, &c.); "*cochleares, cultellos, cannas, potum*", Venantius, see Ducange; O. Fr. *quenne*, Fr. *canette*, Lat. *canna*, tube.

Capa (mantle) according to Isidorus, 19. 31, "*quia quasi totum capiat hominem*"; it would be then comparable with O. H. G. *gifang*, a kind of garment, from *fangen*; It. *cappa*, Sp. *capa*, Fr. *chape*.

Capanna (a hovel); "*hanc rustici capannam vocant, quod unum tantum capiat*", Isid. 15. 12. 2; It. *capanna*, thatched cottage, Sp. *cabaña*, Fr. *cabane*.

Capere, intransitive, meaning *to find room, to go in*, in the earliest M. Lat.; so in the Vulg., "*sermo meus non capit in vobis*"; this use is retained in It. *capere*, Sp., Pr. *cabere*.

Capitanus, capitaneus (captain), also in the earliest M. Lat.; It. *capitano*, Sp. *capitan*, Pr. *capitani*, O. Fr. *chevetaine*, Fr. *capitaine*.

Capritus for the more correct *capellus* = *hoedus*; "*si quis capritum sive caprum furatus fuerit*", L. Sal.; Sp. *cabrito*, Pr. *cabrit*, Fr. *cabri*, It. *capretto*; N. Pr. *cabridà* = Fr. *chevroter*.

Capro (rafter); "*capriuns râfûn*", Gloss. Cassel.; Sp., Pr. *cabrion*, Fr. *chevron*; from *caper*.

Capulare; "*si quis pedem alterius capulaverit*", L. Sal.; Pr. *chaplar*, O. Fr. *chapler* to hew off; from *capulus*, a sword or sword-hilt.

"**Capulum** funis a capiendo, quod eo indomita jumenta capiuntur", so Isid. explains the word, 20. 16; It. *cappio*, a running knot, Sp. *cable*, Fr. *câble*, M. Gr. *καπλίων*.

Cara, see the Greek list further on.

Carabus, *ibidem*.

Carpa, a carp, Cassiodorus and later auth.; Sp. *carpa*, Fr. *carpe*, Wal. *crap*, It. *carpione*.

Casa for *domus* occurs in the earliest M. Lat., but we further find in Isid. 14. 12, that "*casa est agreste habitaculum palis, arundinibus et virgultis contextum*"; It., Sp., Pr. *casa*, Wal. *case*.

Casnus for *quercus*, *casnetum* for *quercetum*, the latter in a document as early as A. D. 508, "*nemus quod dicitur Morini Casneti*", Bréq. n. 5; O. Fr. *caisne*, *quesne*, *chesne*, N. Fr. *chêne*, and for *casnetum*, *chênaie*; corrupted from *quercinus*.

"**Casula** vestis cucullata, quasi minor casa", Isid. 19. 24; Sp. *casulla*, *chasuble*.

Cattare; "*cattus, quod cattat*" (al. *catat*, *captat*), i. e. *videt*, Isid. 12. 2; O. Sp. *catar* in the same sense; Upper It., Gris. *catar*, to find, Wal. *ceutà*, to watch, seek, view; from *captare*; comp. Voss. *Etym.*, sub voce *felis*.

Causa for *res* (the latter word having been required to take the place of the pronoun *aliquid* or *quidquam*), in the L. Sal. and abundantly even in the oldest M. Lat.; It., Sp. *cosa*, Pr. *causa*, Fr. *chose*.

Cecinus for *cygnus*, L. Sal.; It. *cécino*, *cécero*, Sp., O. Fr. *cisne*. From *cicer*, chick-pea, referring to the tumors on the bill of the swan.

Ciconia; "*hoc instrumentum (telon) Hispani ciconiam vocant*", Isid. 20. 15; Sp. *cigüeña*, pump-piston.

Circare; *circat* = *circumvenit*, Gloss. Isid.; "*circat montem*", *Casæ litter.* Lachmann p. 326, 17; in same sense Sp., and Pg. *cercar*, but O. Pg., Pr. *cercar*, It. *cercare*, Wal. *cercà* and *cercetà* (*circitare*), Fr. *chercher*, to seek, properly to go about looking for.

Clida for *crates*, Leg. Bav.; Pr. *cleda*, Fr. *claie*. O. Irish *cliath*, &c.

Collina for *collis*, *Cas. litt.* Lachm. p. 214; It. *collina*, Sp. *colina*, Fr. *colline*.

Colomellus; "hos (dentes caninos) *vulgus* pro longitudine colomellos vocant", Isid. 11. 1; Sp. *colmillo*, Pg. *colmilho*, from *columella*.

Colpus, Leg. Barb.; It. *colpo*, Sp. *golpe*, Pr. *colp*, Fr. *coup*; derived from *colaphus*, which is therefore found in place of and together with *colpus* in the L. Sal.

Comba (deep valley), compare the geographical name *Cumba* in an old document A. D. 631, Bréquigny Dipl. p. 136; It. Dial. *conba*, *gomba*, Sp., Pr. *comba*, a hollow, or dell; from *concava*.

Combrus, a pile of branches, *Gest. reg. Franc.*; Pg. *combro*, a heap of earth, It. *ingombro*, Fr. *encombre*, hindrance; from *cumulus*.

Companium, compounded of *cum* and *panis*, a company, those who eat bread together, L. Sal.; hence It. *compagnia* &c.

Condemnare aliquem, in the sense "damnum adferre alicui", L. Sal.; O. Fr. *condemner* in same sense; see *Zwei alt-romanische Gedichte*, p. 50.

Contrariare, Prosper Aquitanus; It. *contrariare*, *contradiare*, Sp., Pr. *contrariar*, Fr. *contrarier*.

"**Cortinæ** sunt aulæ", Isid. 19. 26; It., Sp. *cortina*, Wal. *cortine*, Fr. *courtine*. From *chors*, properly something surrounding or fencing.

Cosinus, abbrev. from *consobrinus*, fem. *consina*, Gloss. Sangall.; It. *cugino*, Pr. *cosin*, Fr. *cousin*.

Costuma for *consuetudo* in an old document A. D. 705, *coustuma* (Carpentier); It. *costuma*, &c. ^{*Costuma*} ^{*costumbre*}

Crema, *crematis* for *cremor* in Venantius; It., Sp., Pr. *crema*, Fr. *crème*, cream.

Cucus for *cuculus*, Isid. 17. 7; Venet., Pg. *cuco*.

Cusire, formed from *consuere*, Gloss. Isid.; It. *cucire*, Wal. *cose*, Sp. *cusir*, *coser*, Fr. *coudre*.

Dativa for *donativa*, Gloss. Isid.; Sp. *dádivas*.

Detentare, Venantius and others; Sp. *detentar*.

Diffacere, Capit. ad Leg. Sal., Leg. Longob.; It. *disfare*, Sp. *deshacer*, Fr. *défaire*.

Directum for *jus*, Form. *Marc.*; It. *diritto*, Sp. *derecho*, Fr. *droit*.

Discapillare (to deprive of the hair), Leg. Burg., Leg. Alam.; It. *scapigliare*, Sp. *descabellar*, Fr. *décheveler*, to disorder the hair.

Drappus for *pannus*, Leg. Alam., Form. *Marc.*; It. *drappo*, Pr., Fr. *drap*, Sp. *trapo*; of German origin?

Esca in sense of fuel; “unde et esca *vulgo* dicitur (fungus) quod sit fomes ignis”, Isid. 17. 10; It. *esca*, Wal. *easce*, Sp. *yescas*.

Exartum, a fallow field, Leg. Burg., Longob.; hence *exartare*; Pr. *eissart*, Fr. *essarter*. From *ex* and *sarritum*.

Exclusa (sluice), L. Sal., Grég. de Tours, Venantius; Sp. *eschusa*, Fr. *échuse*.

Escorticare (to flay), L. Sal.; It. *scorticare*, Sp. *escorchar*, Pr. *escorgar*, Fr. *écorcher*.

Falcastrum, ferramentum curvum, Isid. 20. 14, Greg. Magnus; It. *falcastro* scythe.

“**Ficatum** quod Græci *σνκατόν* vocant”, Gloss. Isid. (the liver of an animal fattened with figs; hence by metonymy the liver in general); It. *fégato*, Wal. *ficât*, Sp. *higado*, Pr. *fetge*, Fr. *foie*, liver in gen.

Flasco (a vessel), Greg. Mag., *flasca*, Isid. 20. 6; It. *flasco*, *flasca*, Sp. *flasco*, O. Fr. *flasche*, N. Fr. *flacon*; from *vasculum* by transposition of the *l*.

Focacius, cake baked on cinders; “cinere coctus et reversatus est ipse et focacius”, Isid. 20. 2; It. *focaccia*, Sp. *hogaza*, Fr. *fouasse*.

Focus for *ignis*, Leg. Alam. and elsewhere; It. *fuoco*, Wal. *foc*, Sp. *fuego*, Pg. *fogo*, Pr. *fuec*, Fr. *feu*.

Fontana for *fons*, *Cas. litt.*, Leg. Longob., originally as in Columella, *aqua fontana*, until the adjective, as often happens in Romanesque diction, came to represent the entire phrase; It., Sp., Pr. *fontana*, Fr. *fontaine*, Wal. *fontyne*. In neither of the two last-named languages is the radical preserved.

Forestis (a wood subjected to the rights of the chase); this and other forms occur in the earliest M. Latin, e. g. in the Leg. Longob.; It. *foresta*, Sp. *foresta*, Fr. *forêt*. From *foris*, properly meaning that which lies outside, must not be trodden.

Foris facio = *offendo*, *noceo*, Gloss. Isid.; O. It. *forfare*, Pr. *forfaire*, Fr. *forfaire*.

Fortia, **forcia** (strength, force), Leg. Barb.; It. *forza*, Sp. *fuerza*, Fr. *force*; from *fortis*.

Fundibulum for *infundibulum*, Gloss. Philox.; Sp. *fonil*, Pg. *funil*.

"**Furo** a furvo dicitur, unde et fur, tenebrosos enim et occultos cuniculos effodit", Isid. 12. 2; Sp. *huron*, Pg. *furão*, O. Fr. *fuiron*, It. *suretto* a kind of ferret or weasel. From *fur*, comp. It. *furone*, a master-thief.

Gamba, Gloss. Cass. and other doc.; It., Sp. *gamba*, Pg. *gambia*, Fr. *jambe*, O. Sp. *camba*, Gris. *comba*. Originally perhaps the armature of the knee, from the Latin root comprised in *cam-urus*, comp. *καμπή*; it came finally to mean "leg".

Gannat = *χλευάζει*, Gloss. Grec.-Lat.; *gannum*, *Gest. reg. Franc.*; It. *inganno*, Sp. *engaña*, Pr. *engan*, deceit, thence as a verb It. *ingannare*, and Wal. *ingenà*. Probably from the German.

Glenare (to glean); "si quis in messem alienam glenaverit" (Capit. pacto L. Sal. add.); Fr. *glaner*; of uncertain origin.

Granica for *horreum*, Leg. Bav.; O. Fr. *granche*. The N. Fr. *grange* may perhaps come from *granea*.

Gubia, also *guvia*, *gulbia*, *gulvia*, Isid. 19. 19; Sp. *gubia*, Pg. *goiva*, Fr. *gouge*, It. *gorbia*, joiner's chisel. Probably of Iberian origin.

Gunna (an article of dress), Bonifacius; It. *gonna*, O. Sp., Pr. *gona*, O. Fr. *gone*; of uncertain origin.

Hostis for *exercitus*, Leg. Barb., Greg. Mag.; It. *oste*, Sp. *hueste*, Pr., O. Fr. *ost*, Wal. *oaste*.

Incensum for *thus*, Isid. 4. 12; It. *incenso*, Sp. *incienso*, Pr. *essés*, Fr. *encens*.

Inciincta = *prægnans*, "eo quod est sine cinctu", Isid. 10. 151; It. *incinta*, Pr. *encench*, Fr. *enceinte*.

Inculpare for *culp*are, L. Sal.; It. *incolpare*, Pr. *encolpar*, Fr. *inculper*; Lat. *inculpatus* has an opposite meaning.

Infans generally for *puer*, *puella*, e. g. "duos infantes, unum, qui habuit IX annos, alium qui habuit XI", L. Rip.; It., Sp. *infante*, Pr. *enfan*, Fr. *enfant* in same sense, It. *fante*, footsoldier; see Pott's *Abhandl. Platt-Lat. und Roman.* p. 346.

Insubulum, the weaver's beam, Isid.; It. *subbio*, Sp. *enxullo*, O. Fr. *ensouple*.

Iterare for *iter facere*, Columbanus, Venantius, and others; Pr. *edrar*, O. Fr. *errer*.

"**Labina**, eo quod ambulantibus lapsum inferat", Isid. 16. 1; comp. *lavina* (fall, ruin), according to Ducange found in Hieron.; Gris. *lavina*, O. H. G. *lewina*, Fr. *lavange*.

Latus, used as preposition; "latus curte", L. Sal., "latus se", Cas. litt., and frequently elsewhere; Pr. *latz*, O. Fr. *les*.

Lorandrum; "rhododendron, quod corrupte vulgo lorandrum (al. lorandeum) vocatur", Isid. 17. 7; to this correspond It., Sp. *oleandro*, Fr. *oléandre*.

"**Mantum** Hispani vocant, quod manus tegat tantum", Isid. 19. 24; *mantum majorem*, a document of A. D. 542, Bréq. n. 23; It., Sp. *manto*, Fr. *mante*; from Lat. *mantelum*.

Marcus = *malleus major*, Isid. 19. 7; in classic auth. we have only *marculus*; O. It. *marco*.

Mare for *stagnum*, *lacus*; "omnis congregatio aquarum abusive maria nuncupantur", Isid. 13. 14; Fr. *mare* in same sense.

Masca; "striga, quod est masca", Leg. Longob.; *mascus* = *grima* (spectre), Gloss. A. S. Both significations are Romanesque, e. g. Piedm. *masca*, witch, Fr. *masque*, It. *maschera*, mask. On relations to the Lat. *masticare* or O. H. G. *mâsâ*, see *Etym. Wb.*

Matrina, **matrinia** in two senses; 1) step-mother, Leg. Longob.; 2) god-mother. Cap. Carl. Mag.; It. *matrigna*, *madrina*, Sp. *madrina*, Fr. *marraine*.

Mercēs in the sense of compassion, indulgence, &c., Greg. Mag., and many later auth.; It. *mercè*, Sp. *merced*, Fr. *merci*.

Milimindrus or *milimindrum*, henbane; "hanc (herbam) *vulgus* milimindrum dicit", Isid. 17. 9; Sp. *milmandro*, Pg. *meimendro*; of unknown origin.

Monitare for *monere*, Venantius Fort.; hence Pr. *monestar*, Sp. *amonestar*, Fr. *admonéter*; see *Ety. Wb.* I.

Montanea for *montana* i. e. *loca*, also *montania*, deducible from *montaniosus*, Cas. litt.; a counterpart to *campania* (comp. list 1.); It. *montagna*, &c.

Mucare, **muccare** = *emungere*, Leg. Rip.; Fr. *moucher*, *mouchoir*; from *mucus*.

Mustio; "bibiones sunt qui in vino nascuntur, quos *vulgo* mustiones a musto appellant", Isid. 12. 8; It. *moscione*, a small winged insect.

"**Muttum**, *μῦ*", Gloss. Lat.-Gr., that is, a mutter or murmur, subsequently in sense of "word"; It. *motto*, Sp. *mote*, Pr., Fr. *mot*. The classical *muttire* survives only in Pr., and O. Fr. *motir*.

Nario = *subsannans*, Gloss. Isid.; O. H. G. *narro*, Comasch. *nar*.

Natica, for and from *natis*; *πυγή* = *natica*, Gloss. Gr.-Lat.; nates = *natices* (leg. *naticæ*), Gloss. Paris. ed. Hild.; It. *natica*, Sp. *nalga*, O. Fr. *nache*.

Natta for *matta*; "illud quod intextis junci virgulis fieri solet, quas *vulgo* nattas vocant", Grég. de Tours; Fr. *natte*.

Necare, **negare** for *aqua necare*, Leg. Burg., Alam., &c.; It. *annegare*, Sp., Pr. *negar*, Fr. *noyer*.

Olca, **olcha**; "campus tellure fœcundus; tales enim incolæ" (Campani) "olcas vocant", Grég. de Tours; O. Fr. *ouche*, *osche*; see Ducange.

Padulis for *paludis* in the earliest M. Lat.; It. *padule*, Pg. *paul*, Sp. *paul-ar*.

Pagensis as early as Grég. de Tours, in the Leg. Longob. &c., in the two senses of fellow-countryman and provincial; O. Sp. *pages*, Pr. *pages* only in the second.

Pantanum, equiv. to palus, -*udis*, first in a document of Charlemagne's time; it was, however, a widely diffused word; It., Sp., Pg. *pantano*, Gris. *pantan*. For a conjecture on its origin see *Etym. Wb.*

Parcus, parricus (an enclosed place), Leg. Rip., Angl.; *parc* Leg. Bav.; It. *parco*, Sp. *parque*, Fr. *parc*; perhaps from Lat. *parcere* in sense of protecting.

Pariculus for *par*; "hoc sunt pariculas causas"; "charta paricla", Form. Marc.; It. *parecchio*, Sp. *parejo*, Fr. *pareil*.

Pecora for *pecus* = *ovis*, Gloss. Sangall.; It. *pecora*.

Petium, and other forms (a piece of land), occur about the 8th century; It. *pezzo*, *pezza*, Sp. *pieza*, Fr. *pièce*; from Gr. *πέτσα*?

Pirarius for *pirus*, L. Sal., cap. de villis; Pr. *peirier*, Fr. *poirier*.

Placitum, in the earliest M. Lat. an assembly to debate on State business, It. *piato*, Sp. *pleito*, O. Fr. *plaid*.

Plagia for *litus* in Greg. Mag.; It. *piaggia*, Sp. *playa*, Fr. *plage*; from *plaga*.

Prægnus for *prægnans*; "prægnum jumentum", Leg. Alam.; corresponding to It. *pregno*, -*a*, whereas Pg. *prenhe*, Pr. *prenh* (no feminine *prenha*), have their origin in *prægnas* or *prægnans*.

Præstare for *mutuò dare*, Salvianus, Venantius, L. Sal.; It. *prestare*, Sp. *prestar*, Fr. *prêter*.

Pretiare for "pretium ponere", Leg. Alam., ed. Herold, Cassiod., compare Funccius *de inerti ling. lat. æt.*, p. 708; It. *prezzare*, Sp. *preciar*, Fr. *priser*, M. H. G. *prisen*.

Prostrare for *prosternere*, formed to match the partic. *prostratus*; see Funccius, *loc. cit.*, p. 714; It. *prostrare*, Pr. *prostrar*, Sp. *postrar*.

Pulletrus, poledrus for *pullus equinus*, Leg. Sal., Alam.; It. *polédro*, *puledro*, Sp. *potro*, O. Fr. *poutre*. From *pullus*, compare *poulain*. On the suffix see Pott, *Zeitschr. für Alterthumsw.* XI. 492.

Rasilis (a tissue); “ralla, quæ *vulgo* rasilis dicitur”, Isid. 19. 22; Sp. *rasilla*, kind of serge.

Redulus = “strues lignorum ardentium”, Gloss. Isid.; O. Fr. *re* in same sense, from *rete*, net, thence it meant lattice-work, &c.

Regnare in the sense of conducting oneself, living; “bonum tibi est luscum in vita regnare”, Tatianus (on Matth. 18. 9); O. It. *regnare*, Pr. *renhar*, O. Fr. *régner* in same sense.

“**Retortæ**, quibus sepes continentur”, L. Sal.; It. *ritorta*, Pr. *redorta*, O. Fr. *riorte*, osier-band.

Ruga = *platea*, ἀγρία, Gloss. vet.; O. It. *ruga*, Sp. *rua*, Fr. *rue*. Properly furrow, then row. ?

Salma, see σάγμα in the Greek list.

Sarna; “hanc (impetiginem) *vulgo* sarnam appellant”, Isid. 4. 8; Sp., Pg. *sarna* in same sense, probably Iberian.

Sarralia; “lactuca agrestis est, quam sarraliam nominamus”, Isid. 17. 10; Sp. *sarraja*, Pg. *serralha*.

Semus for *mutilus*, *simare* for *mutilare*, Form. Pithœi, Cap. ad leg. Alam., Leg. Long.; It. *scemo*, *scemare*, Pr. *sem*, *semar*, O. Fr. *semer*, from Lat. *semis*.

Singularis = *epur* (*aper*), Gloss. Sangall., and elsewhere frequently. It. *cinghiale*, Pr. *senglar*, Fr. *sanglier*; so named from his solitary habits.

Soca, *soga* (cord. thong), docum. of Justinian’s time, Leg. Longob.; It. (Dial.), Sp., Pg. *soga*; of uncertain origin.

Solatiari, *solatiare*, Greg. Mag., Leg. Longob.; It. *solazzo*, Sp. *solazar*, Pr. *solassar*, O. Fr. *solacier*.

Sparcus, *spacus*, string, in some inscriptions, see Graff, V. 239; It. *spago*, Hung. *spaya*.

“**Taratrum**, quasi teratrum”, Isid. 19. 19, “taradros napu-gêrà” (a gimblet), Gloss. Cass.; Sp. *taladro* for *taradro*, Pr. *taraire*, Fr. *tarière*, Gris. *teràder*; from Gr. τέρετρον.

Testimoniare, Cap. ad L. Sal., Form. Marc. 1. 37, Diplom. Theodorici III. regis in Bréq., num. 195, and often afterwards; It. *testimoniare*, Fr. *témoigner*.

Thius, see *θῆλος* in Gr. list.

Tornare in the sense of turning round, Edict. Rotharis &c.; It. *tornare*, Sp., Pr. *tornar*, Fr. *tourner*.

Troja = *sū* (sow), Gloss. Cass., and often subsequently; It. *troja*, O. Sp. *troya*, Pr. *truia*, Fr. *truie*; from the name of the city Troy, see *Etyim. Wb.*

Troppus for *grex*, *turba*; "in troppo de jumentis", Leg. Alam.; Sp. *tropa*, Fr. *troupe*; It. *troppo*, Fr. *trop*. Perhaps from *turba*.

Tructa (trout); "quos *vulgus* tructas (al. *bruccas*), vocat", Isidor 12. 6; It. *trota*, Sp. *trucha*, Fr. *truite*; perhaps from Gr. *τροχίτης*. The masc. *tructus* occurs in Plin. Valer. A. D. 4.

Turbiscus (a plant), Isid.; Sp. *torvisco*, Pg. *trovisco* [*Daphne gnidium*].

Turdela (al. *turdella*), quasi minor *turdus*, Isid. 12. 7; hence It. *tordella*, Sp. *tordella*, thrush. This reminds us of the fem. *turda* in Persius; Lat. *turdillus* only.

Varicat = *ambulat*, Gloss. Isid.; It. *varcare*, to traverse. From *varicare*, to separate the feet.

Vassus (servitor), Leg. Barb.; It. *vassallo*, Sp. *vasallo*, Fr. *vassal*, Welsh. *gwās*.

Vermiculus, adj. from *vermis* in the sense of coccineus, frequent in the early M. Lat.; It. *vermiglio*, Sp. *bermejo*, Fr. *vermeil*.

Viaticum, in sense of journey; "deducit dulcem per amara viatica natam", Venantius; It. *viaggio*.

Virare = *gyrare*, Leg. Alam.; Sp., Pr. *virar*, O. Fr. *virer*; comp. Lat. *viria*, a bracelet, i. e. something wound about the arm.

Virtus, meaning prodigy, miracle, as early as the Vulg.; "et non poterat ibi virtutem ullam facere", Mark. 6. 5; afterwards frequently; Pr. *vertut*.

The frequent agreement of all the Romance languages together in the words, forms and applications, indicated in the two preceding lists, affords in conjunction with their grammatical structure, the surest evidence of their original unity,

which can only be traceable to a popular Latin idiom, the rather because the Wallachian dialect, having been so early separated from its sisters, cannot have received from them these elements, but must possess them as a portion of the stock it took out from home*.

Furthermore, while the new diction has cherished and raised to a higher stage of developement many antiquated and unusual words, it has on the other hand relinquished a far greater number of such as were the most familiar. Before we enter upon the causes, so far as they can be specified, of this loss, it will be proper to exhibit under distinct heads a portion of the matter lost. It will be understood, that we treat only of the popular element in the modern languages. Many Latin words belong to them merely as poetical expressions, and these have in part been introduced through a purely literary channel, while in part they have actually been in use at an earlier period, and since become obsolete; it is only the latter class that can be truly called Romanesque**. Just

* Herewithal it would be an extraordinary thing, if the several idioms did not very frequently run into different tracks in the expression of particular ideas. To this effect many causes, into which we will not now particularly enter, may have contributed. We will only instance a few substantives; *Vir*; It. *uomo*, Fr. *homme*, Sp. *varon*, Wal. *berbat*. *Puer*; It. *funicullo*, *ragazzo*, Sp. *muchacho*, *rapaz*, *niño*, Pr. *tos*, Fr. *enfant*, *garçon*, Wal. *fet*, *copil*. *Frater*; Fr. *frère*, Wal. *frate*, It. *fratello*, Sp. *hermano*. *Patruus*, *avunculus*; Fr. *oncle*, Wal. *unchiu*, Sp. *tio*, It. *zio*, Gris. *aug.* *Patruelis*, *consobrinus*; It. *cugino*, Fr. *cousin*, Sp. *primo*, Pr. *quart*, Wal. *ver*. *Vitricus*; Wal. *vitreg*, It. *patrigno*, Sp. *padastro*, Fr. *beaupère*. *Ovis*; Wal. *oae*, Sp. *oveja*, It. *pecora*, Pr. *fedà*, Fr. *brébis*, Gris. *nurssa*. *Aries*; It. *montone*, Sp. *morueco*, Fr. *bélier*, Wal. *berbeace*, Gris. *botsch*.

Canis; It. *cane*, Wal. *cune*, Fr. *chien*, Sp. *perro*, Cat., Pr. *gas*. *Vulpes*; It. *volpe*, Wal. *vulpe*, Sp. *vulpeja*, *raposa*, *zorra*, Fr. *renard*. *Mus*; Gris. *mieur*, It. *topo*, *sorcio*, Wal. *soarece*, Fr. *souris*, Sp. *raton*. *Quercus*; It. *quercio*, Fr. *chêne*, Sp. *carvallo*, *carrasca*, Gris. *ruver*, Wal. *stežariu*. *Malus*; It. *melo*, Wal. *mer*, Sp. *manzano*, Fr. *pommier*. *Caryophyllum*; It. *garofano*, Sp. *clavel*, Fr. *œuillet*, Gris. *negla*. *Domus*; It., Sp. *casa*, Wal. *casę*, Fr. *maison*. *Via*, *platea*; It. *strada*, Sp. *calle*, Fr. *rue*, Gris. *gassa*, Wal. *ulitę*.

** The words of the first class often betray their nature even to our feelings, as do, for instance, the adjectives *altisonante*, *almo*, *divo*, *etereo*,

as little can many technical expressions be looked upon as true components of these languages; they are Latin, and are even brought forward as such in the dictionaries. There are some other words, not so decidedly Latin, but avoided in usual parlance, and represented by synonymes; these must be distinguished in the list by the name of the language that allows them. To the Wallachian and the dialects we here pay no attention.

1) Substantives — World, earth, elements; *Sidus, orbis*;

Tellus, humus, rus, pagus, plaga, arvum, clivus, tumulus, rupes, cautes, specus, antrum, scrobs (It.), *latebra* (It.), *lucus, nemus. Trames. Uligo, cœnum, limus* (hardly Rom.). *Æquor, fretum, amnis, imber, ros* (hardly Pr.). *Æther, procella. Ignis, fulmen* (It. only), *pruina, torris* [? *torror*], *nitor* (It. only), *jubar, æstus*.

Time; *Ævum. Ver* (Pr. and O. Fr. only), *hiems. Hebdomas. Diluculum, aurora, meridies, vesper* (Rom. in a new sense).

Animal kingdom; *Bellua* (It. *belva*, poet). *Equus* (extant only in the fem.), *mannus, hinnus, caper* (almost exclusively in the fem.), *hædus, hircus, ibex, ovis, aper, sus, meles, hystrix, eres, felis, intela, mustela, mus. Volucres, alites, milvus, nîsus, tinnunculus, noctua* (only It. *nottola*), *ulula* (hardly Rom.), *psittacus, alcedo, monedula, fringilla* (It. *fringuello*), *motacilla, ficedula* (Sp.), *regulus* (It.), *parus, apus, ardea, butio, larus* (Sp.), *anser, olor, merops, vipio*.

Testudo (only It. *testuggine*), *saurus, anguis, boa. Squalus, lupus, platessa, mustela, sparus, labrus, glanis, silurus, fario,*

servido, fulgido, igneo, imbelle, imo, inclito, inerme, labile, longevo, pavido, perenne, presago, prisco, superno, tartareo, tremendo, turgido. Others induce a suspicion, if nothing more, that they were introduced at an after time into the poetical language, from the fact that we do not readily meet with them in Provençal or old French; such are, for instance, *adunco, anque, antro, arā, atro, aulo, cacume, dumo, face, fasto, fausto, gelido, irco, labe, libare, nume, parco, prece, prole, speco, speme, suggere, telo, vate.* Dante himself took many words from the Lat. To the second of the classes mentioned in the text may be referred such words as actually occur in the older languages of France, as *ancella, calere, cherere, crine, egro* (O. Fr. *heingre*), *fido, fôlgore, frangere, germe, gladio, ira, li-cere, mescere, piaga, plorare, propaggine, quadrello.*

mugil, *clupea* (It. *chieppa*?), *halec* (It. *alice*, sardine), *cyprinus*, *alburnus*, *esox*, and other names of fishes.

Cicindela, *nepa*, *culex*, *asilus*, *volvax*. *Hirudo*, *mya*, *spondylus*, *murex*, *teredo*.

Body; *Sinciput*, *occiput*, *mala*, *gena*, *os oris*, *rostrum* (Sp. only), *guttur* (Fr. only), *jugulum*, *frumen*, *rumen*, *uber*, *abdomen*, *alvus*, *tergum*, *anus*, *natis*, *clunīs*, *artus*, *armus*, *lacertus* (hardly It.), *scapula*, *ulna*, *vola*, *femur* (It. only), *crus*, *genu*, *poples*, *sura*, *talus*, *unguis*, *vertibulum*. *Cutis*, *scortum*, *cæsaries*, *vellus*, *juba*. *Hepar*, *jecur*, *splen*, *lien*, *ilia*, *adeps* (It.), *arvina*, *bilis*, *cruor*. *Lues*. *Vibex*, *nævus* (It. only), *vulnus*, *funus*.

Vegetable kingdom. The names of trees and shrubs, and even of a small plants, have for the most part survived. But we miss, among others, *siler*, *tibulus*, *timus*, *cratægus*, *arbutus*, *paliurus* (It.), *lappa*, *gramen*, *ador*, *alica* (O. Sp.), *sandalum*, *arundo*. *Sentis*, *dumus*, *vepres*, *surculus*, *termes*, *palmes*.

Mineral kingdom. The few objects belonging to this class, e. g. the names of metals and precious stones, have also for the most part retained their names. Wanting are *lapis*, *scrupus*, *calculus*, *schistus*, *æs*, *chalybs*, *magnes*.

Mankind; *Vir*, *mas*, *liberi*, *nothus*, *puer*, *puella*, *pusus*, *adolescens*, *anus*. *Avus* (It., O. Fr.), *patruus*, *matertera*, *vitricus*, *noverca*, *privignus*, *levir*, *glos*, *conjux*, *uxor* (O. Fr.). *Herus*, *civis*, *verna*, *præes*, *vas*. *Socius* (hardly Rom.), *sodalis*.

Moral relations; *nebulo*, *tenebrio*, *verbero*, *fur*, *leno*, *pellex*, *scortum* and others.

Agriculture; *prædium*, *ager*, *lira*, *seges*, *merges*, *messis*. *Simila* (O. Fr. only), *pollen*, *pabulum*. *Ligo* (Sp. only), *pastinum*, *rallum*, *volgiolus*. *Horreum*, *hara*. *Agricola* (hardly Rom.), *villicus*, *villicus*, *opilio*, *subulcus*, *agaso*. (See "vessels".)

War, arms; *Bellum*, *prælium*, *certamen*, *clades* (It.). *Acies*, *agmen*, *cohors*, *castra*. *Thorax*, *ancile*, *clypeus*, *parma*, *pelta*, *umbo*, *cassis cassidis*, *galea*, *ensis*, *cuspis*, *pugio*, *sica*, *jaculum*, *pilus*, *venabulum*, *veru*, *tehum*, *vexillum*. *Miles*, *tiro*, *eques*, *pedes*, *veles*, *lixa*, *calo*.

Navigation; *linter*, *cymba*, *celox*, *faselus*, *liburnus*, *ratis*, *malus*, *carbasus*, *tonsa*, *rudens*, *statumen*, *tonsilla*. *Classis*. *Nauta*, *remex*.

Trades; *Ærarius*, *cæmentarius*, *caupo*, *cerdo*, *fartor*, *fidicen*, *figulus*, *histrion* (hardly Rom.), *infector*, *institor*, *lanius*, *mango*, *molitor*, *olitor*, *pellio*, *pincerna*, *pistor*, *restio*, *scriba*, *sutor*, *tibicen*, *tonsor*, *tornator*, *vespillo*, *viator*; *auriga*.

Architectural, &c.; *Ædes*, *domus* (in orig. sense). *Atrium*, *hypocaustum*, *thalamus* (hardly Rom.), *aula*, *culina*, *popina*. *Lacunar*, *laquear*, *fornix*, *janua*, *foris*, *posticum*, *valva* (It.), *cardo*, *repagulum*, *pessulus*, *obex*, *linen*. *Tignum*, *vibia*, *later*, *pluteus*. *Urbs*, *oppidum*, *arx*, *mænia*, *minæ*; *angiportus* (It.), *fundula*. *Fanum*, *ara* (unusual).

Vessels, receptacles; *Acerra*, *cacabus*, *cadus*, *calathus*, *cantharus*, *clibanus*, *corbis* (O. Sp.), *crumena*, *fidelia*, *hama*, *hamula*, *hydria*, *lagena*, *lebes*, *marsupium*, *matula*, *patena* (hardly Rom.), *pelvis*, *pera* (It.), *poculum*, *qualum*, *scutra*, *scyphus*, *seria*, *sinum*.

Food, drink; *Offa*, *victus* (It. only), *edulium*, *daps*, *obsonium*, *assum*, *farcimen*, *hilla*, *libum*, *laganum*, *placenta*, *collyra*. *Penus*. *Potus*, *merum*, *mulsum* (It.), *vappa*. *Convivium* (hardly Rom.), *epulæ*, *jentaculum*.

Clothes, ornaments; *Amictus*, *peplum*, *trabea*, *læna*, *chlamys*, *pænula*, *palla*, *supparum*, *subucula*, *interula*, *indusium*, *rica*, *lacerna*, *lacinia*. *Pileus*. *Ocrea*, *pero*, *caliga*, *crepida*. *Tænia*, *redimiculum*, *torques*, *lunula*, *inauris*, *spinther*, *fucus*.

Implements of various kinds; *Currus* (It. only), *plaustrum*, *carpentum*, *rheda*, *cisium*, *essedum*, *sarracum*. *Cunæ*, *lodix*, *cervical*, *pulvinus*, *stragulum*, *teges*. *Fides*, *lituus*, *tintinnabulum*. *Alea*, *pila* (Sp. only), *crepundia* (It. only). *Acus* (It. only), *calcar*, *viriculum*, *dolabra*. *Asser*, *rudis*, *sudes*, *scipio*, *vacerra*, *vectis*, *trua*, *uncus*; *strues*, *rogus*. *Amentum* (O. Sp.), *lorum*, *fune* (It. only), *habena*, *scutica*, *verber*; *cassis*, *verriculum*. *Trutina*.

Collective terms; *Caterva*, *cætus*, *concio* (hardly Rom.), *congeries*.

Abstract terms; *Algor*, *angor*, *ærumna*, *luctus*, *formido*, *spes*, *cupido*, *fastus*, *voluptas*, *optio*, *preces*, *astus*, *dolus* (It.), *ver-*

sutia, nequitia, insania, vecordia, desidia, ignavia, inertia. Mos (Fr. only), *usus, munus, vis, robur, decus, lepor.* Jus, *fas, nefas, jussus, venia, conatus, ultio, facinus, probrum, flagitium, mendacium, jurgium, conflictus, ictus, alapa, nugæ, ludus, suavium, osculum, fœdus, conjugium, connubium, auxilium, ops, divitiæ, ubertas, defectus* (It.), *egestas, inopia, penuria.* Motus (It. only), *iter* (O. Fr. only), *initium, eventus, obitus, letus, nex, exitium.* Omen, *fascinium.* These and other abstract terms are unusual in common life, and only find a frequent application in the poetical style.

Adjectives; *Æquus, almus, ater, canus, celer, claudus, creber, dives, exiguus, exilis, faustus, flavus, fulvus, galbus, gilvus, glaber, glutus, inanis, ingens, laevis, limus, luxus, mæstus, magnus, mitis, navus, necesse, nequam, parvus* (hardly Sp.), *paulus, perperus, pinguis* (? Sp. *pringue*), *potior, priscus, privus, probus, procerus, pronus, puber, pulcher* (It.), *pullus, putus, rarus, sævus, satur, saucius, scævus, segnis, senex* (Pr.), *serus, squalus, strabus, teres* (Sp.), *trux, tutus, udus, vaser, valgus, vatus, vetus, vetustus, vigil.*

Verbs; I. Conj.; *dicare, flagitare, flare, hiare, hortari, inchoare, lurcari, manare, meare, migrare, morari, nare, patrare, placare, potare, properare, solari, spectare, venari, viare.* — II. Conj.; *algere, arcere, augere, carere, cavere, censere, decere, docere, egere, favere, flere, fovere, frigere, hære, horrere, invidere, jubere, latere, libet, lugere, mædere, mederi, mædere, nere, nitere, oportere, patere, pavere, pigere, pollere, polliceri, præbere* (only Pr. *plevir*), *pudere, rancere, reri, rigere, silere, spondere, studere, suadere, tabere, tædere, tepere, terere, torquere, tueri, tumere, turgere, urgere, vegere, vereri, vigere, vovere.* — III. Conj.; *alere, amittere, cædere, canere, cogere, colere* (hardly Pr.), *consulere, contemnere, deficere, degere, demere, deligere, edere, emere, fidere, fieri, fluere, frendere, frui* (hardly Rom.), *fungi, furere, gerere, gignere, jacere, induere, interficere, labi, linere, linquere, loqui, ludere, luere, mandere, mergere* (It.), *metuere, nectere, ningere, niti, noscere, nubere, oblivisci, pangere, parere, pellere, pergere, petere* (Sp. only), *pinsere, plaudere, plectere, poscere, prodere, proficisci, queri, repere, ruere* (hardly Rom.), *scabere, scalpere, scandere,*

scindere, serere, sinere, spernere, spuerere, sternere, strepere, sugere (It.), *suere, sumere, tegere, terere, trudere, ulcisci, urere, uti, vehere, vergere, verrere, vesci, visere*. — IV. Conj.: *farcire, haurire, invenire, metiri, moliri, oriri, nequire, sarcire, sarrire, scire, vincere. Ferre, nolle, malle; cœpisse, meminisse, novisse, odisse; aio, inquam.*

Of the fate of the pronouns and particles we shall speak elsewhere.

On glancing over the above list of words, of which some are primitives, while others represent the most important of conceptions, it must be acknowledged, that the loss in substantives and adjectives is not very considerable, while that in simple verbs, such as, properly speaking, constitute the opulence of a language, is enormous, although by no means the whole stock of the elements has been enumerated. But the extinction of so many important words did not absolutely involve that of their roots. A large majority of the latter has been preserved by the modern diction in derivatives and compounds, whether it received them in that form, or attracted and appropriated them by new creations. For the formative and appropriative impulses continue to operate within this jurisdiction with uncommon power, so that the vocabulary they have formed is much richer than that of the mother-language. The disappearance of old, and the influx of new elements, the frequent bifurcation of a word into two words*, and the production of the most manifold formations, offer rich subjects for meditation to the mind that is disposed to enter into the causes of these phenomena. Meantime we here limit ourselves, among all the causes of the disappearance of the Latin elements, to those which are most conspicuous, and whose operation has been most extensive.

1) Overshort words, and indeed all that are deficient in sonorousness, must be eschewed by a language, which has made a principle of rejecting certain consonant desinences, such as *m* and *s*, and which has thus considerably impaired their form. What could have been done with such monosyl-

* Ex. Lat. *pensare*, Rom. *pensare*, to think, *pesare*, to weigh.

lables (we will take the accusative as the typical form), as *rem*, *spem*, *vim*? or with *fas*, *vas*, *æs*, *os*, *jus*, *rus*? or with dissyllables having no consonant in the middle, such as *reum*, *diem*, *gruem*, *luem*, *struem*, *suem*? Still a few of these maintained their ground, as *rem* in O. Sp. and in French, *spem* in Italian, *vas* by the help of the form *vasum* everywhere, *reus* in It., *diem* in most of the Rom. languages, *gruem* in all. Again *deus* was not to be attacked, though its assimilation was not everywhere in accordance with general rules. Indeed many dissyllables having a consonant in the middle, and even trisyllables of this nature, supplied no sonorous forms to satisfy the ear, a fact which no doubt made some difference, at least as to words of daily occurrence. We must here, however, draw some distinctions according to the characteristics of the several dialects; for it was the northwestern dialects with their eliminating tendencies, that the weak forms of words suited least; the southern were sometimes enabled to eject the medial consonant without otherwise altering the word (Fr. *racine*, Sp. *raiz*). For examples may serve, *ile* or *ilia*, *hiemem*, *genu*, *agnum*, *ignem*, *aurem*, *narem*, *erem*, *herum*, *rorem*, *crurem*, *murem*, perhaps also *apem*, *ovem*. Words of small material bulk like these were now frequently interchanged with others, *res* with *causa*, *vis* with *fortia*, *fas* and *jus* with *directum*, *os* with *bucca*, *rus* with *campania*, *sus* with *troja*, *ignis* with *focus*, *herus* with *patronus*, *crus* with *gamba*, *mus* with *sorex* or *talpa*. Or else derivatives from the same root were set in their place, *sperantia* for *spes*, *æramen* for *æs*, *diurnum* for *dies*, *iliare* for *ile*, *hibernum* for *hiems*, *genuculum* for *genu*, *agnellus* for *agnus*, *auricula* for *auris*, *narix* (It. *narice*) for *naris*, *ericius* for *eres*, *roscidum*, &c., for *ros*, *avicella* for *avis*, *ovicula* for *ovis*. The extension of the form by diminutive suffixes, which is the most favored expedient in all popular languages, is a Romanesque fundamental characteristic, which shows itself there even, where the primitive is not chargeable with deficient bulk. So we have from *vulpes*, *sciurus*, *cornix*, *lusciniæ*, *rana*, *apis*, *lappa*, *corbis*, *colus* the derivatives *vulpecula*, *sciurulus*, *cornicula*, *lusciniolus*, *ranicula*, *apicula*, *lap-pula*, *corbicula*, *coluculus*; from *melis*, *milvus*, *culex*, *quercus*,

natis, *limes* the derivatives *mologna* (Neap. dial.), *milvanus*, *culicinus* (Fr. *cousin*), *quercea*, *natica*, *limitare*, which were either taken from the primitive form, or else newly created, while the primitives became superfluous and in part died away. It is singular, that in the French *âge* nothing has remained except the suffix, whereas the older language still preserved the root in the form *e-âge*, which stands for *ætaticum*, containing *æ* = *ævum*. — 2) Words of similar or nearly similar sound were not so easily endured by the modern language as by the ancient, because the former had relinquished the pure literal form, as it stood before it was weakened by assimilation and other processes (It. *atto* = *actus*, and *aptus*); it had also relinquished the distinctive expedient of quantity, which it was impossible to replace completely by the diphthongization of the strong vowel. Many of the words, therefore, that came into collision, especially when they were of the same gender, had inevitably to give up their places for the sake of perspicuity. Thus, for instance the subst. *vir* was expelled, to the great detriment of the language, to leave room for *verus*, inasmuch as both would have become *vero*; so the Spaniard replaced it by *varon*, and the Wallachian by *berbat* (*barbatus*). Owing to a similar collision with *verus*, the name of the spring, *ver*, would have perished, had not expedients for preserving it been found in composition and expansion (Sp. *verano*, It. *primavera*). A synonym of *vir*, namely *mas*, *maris*, had to be given up, it would appear, on account of *mare*. *Bellum* evidently gave place to the adjective *bellus*, the German *werra* receiving a hearty welcome as its substitute. In like manner it may be suspected that *æquus* was expelled by *equus* (properly speaking by the fem. *equa*), *ager* by *acer* (It. *agro*), *fāis* by *fides*, *habena* by *avena*, *liber* by *liber*, *māla* by *māla*, adj., *matula* by *macula*, *melis* by *mel*, *palla* by *pala*, *plāga* by *plāga*, *puer* by *purus*. *Ōra* in Italian was unable to hold its ground by the side of *hora*; it had to take refuge in the diminutival form *orto*; while the Provençal separated the two words by the gender, *or*, *ora*. So *sol* in French could not have kept company with *solum*; and thus arose the form *soleil*. Herewithal

many homonyms were preserved for the language by internal modifications; so *mālus* by the side of *mīlus* (adj.) became the It. *melo*, *pōpulus* by the side of *pōpulus* became *pioppo*. — 3) As with the homonyms, so it fared with the synonyms; many of them, from the finer shades of significance being no longer felt or valued, began to disappear from the language. *Abdomen* appeared superfluous with *pantex*, *ædes* with *casa*, *ævum* with *ætas*, *amnis* with *fluvius* and *flumen*, *anguis* with *serpens*, *ānus* with *culus*, *arx* with *castellum*, *clivus* with *collis* or the more modern *collina*, *cænium* with *lutum*, *culina* with *coquina*, *daps* with *cibus*, *ensis* with *gladius*, *equus* with *caballus*, *fel* with *bilis*, *formido* with *pavor*, *gena* with *palpebra*, *gramen* with *herba*, *guttur* and *jugulum* with *gula*, *hirudo* with *sanguisuga*, *imber* with *pluvia*, *jaculum* with *lancea*, *janua* with *porta* and *ostium*, *lapis* with *petra*, *lira* with *sulcus*, *lorum* with *corrigia*, *mala* with *maxilla*, *mœnia* with *murus*, *offa* with *frustum*, *orbis* with *circulus*, *osculum* or *suavium* with *basium*, *rupes* with *saxum*, *sidus* with *astrum*, *specus* or *antrum* with *spelunca*, *tellus* with *terra*, *trames* with *semita*, *tumulus* with *cumulus*, *ulna* with *cubitus*, *urbs* or *oppidum* with *civitas*, *vulnus* or *ictus* with *plaga*. In regard to many of these words it may indeed be doubted, whether it was not the weakness of their forms that gave occasion to their dismissal; this may well have been the case, for instance, with *ædes*, *ævum*, *amnis*, *anguis*, *ensis*, *gena*, *urbs* (the latter also coming into collision with *orbis*). Among the adjectives the use of synonyms may have been the predominant cause of large disappearances; thus words like *magnus*, *mitis*, *pulcher*, *sævus* vanished under the influence of *grandis*, *suavis*, *bellus*, *ferox*. Only how, we must still ask, came *parvus* to be expelled by the barbaric *piccolo*, *pequeño*, *petit*? In spite of this horror of synonyms the genius of the new diction was not to be restrained from forming or taking up, partly from native, and partly from foreign sources, a considerable number of expressions of which the meaning was already sufficiently represented. It need not be stated that novel relations, manners and ideas made many an old word superfluous, or demanded its being exchanged for a new one. But here we

need only speak of those that were exchanged. This was actually the case with the important expression for "word", *verbum*, which because of the significance it acquired in Church use was withdrawn from its former applications, and replaced by *parabola*. *Domus* among the French and Italians is a name now given only to the house of God; its former functions were usurped by *casa*. *Vesper* also took an ecclesiastical sense, its earlier one being supplied by *serus* or *tardus*. Many natural objects were named according to a new conception of their properties and characteristics, whereupon the old expression got lost. The boar began to be called *singularis*, the solitary; the wether *mutilus*, the castrated; the swan *cecimus* from the pimples on its beak (*cicer*); the waterwagtail *cauditremula* as in Gr. it was *σειστοπυλς*. Among plants natural appellatives of this kind come forward in great numbers. Most significant for the origin of the Romanesque diction and the position in which it stands towards the Latin, is this class of expressions, in which the popular element of the former comes forward with most boldness, especially in its uncouth mode of naming the parts of the human body, as in *testa* (jar) for *caput*; *concha* (shell) in the same sense; *gurgus* (whirlpool) for *guttur*; *spatula* (spade) for *scapula*; *perna* (ham) for *crus*, though this we find as early as Ennius; *pulpa* (lump of meat) for *sura*; *ficatum* (goose's liver) for *hepar*; *botellus* (sausage) for *intestinum*; *pellis* (hide) for *cutis*. Even *casa* (country cottage) for *domus* is in this sense a thoroughly rustic appellation. — 5) Lastly, one cause of the disappearance of not a few Latin words must be sought in the intrusion of foreign elements of language, of which we shall have to speak more at leisure hereafter. These elements, which continually presented themselves to the Romanesque speaker in his active intercourse with foreign nations, he was neither able nor willing to reject. Indeed the foreign word often expressed things or relations for which the Lat. language supplied no satisfactory expression, or at all events no authorized one; or else the word was recommended by a fuller and more euphonious form. Here and there we remark more special reasons and con-

siderations; so, for instance, in the Northwest three Latin expressions for the he-goat, *caper*, *hircus* and *hædus*, were expelled by the foreign word *boc*, because in this, as in other domestic animals, it became a desideratum to distinguish the gender by the root of the name, and not merely by the termination. For the same reason *gallus* had to yield to the foreign *coq*. Very often however, the victory of the foreign over the Latin element was due to chance only.*

We have yet to cast another glance upon the verbs. Their elimination was based upon the same causes, as that of the nouns, e. g., the shortness of the roots in *flare*, *nare*, *flere*, *neri*, *neri*, while on the other hand *dare* and *ire* have maintained their places, although not perfectly, nor in every dialect. Homonymity seldom operates, though perhaps traceable in *mærere* with *merere*, *cædere* with *cedere*, *parère* with *parère*, *queri* with *querere*. Synonymity more often. Here however other causes have been at work. The numerous and beautiful words of the third conjugation which express a mode of *being* have been dropped almost universally in the new diction, because they were mostly susceptible of being conveniently expressed by circumlocutions with the same radicals; and to circumlocution, in fact, these languages are strongly addicted; thus for *albere*, *frigere*, *nigrere*, it was easy to say *album*, *frigidum*, *nigrum esse*. The great losses, which the third conjugation suffered, were in part, no doubt, owing to the complexity of its inflections. The compound verbs maintained themselves better, because here the forms were more substantial, and the meanings more special, as in *inflare*, *inhortari* (O. Fr.), *demorari*, *consolari*, *adhærere*, *abhorreere*, *respondere*, *persuadere*, *occidere*, *comedere* (Sp. *comer*), *influere*, *relinquere*, *consuere*, *consumere*, *advincire* (It. *avvincere*), *referre*, and the like. Many of the extinct pri-

*I abstain from entering here into the changes that have occurred in the conceptions intimated by words, this subject having been copiously and satisfactorily discussed by others and lately by Fuchs, *Rom. Spr.* p. 191, et seq., and Du Méril, *Formation de la langue franç.* p. 318—340. On these points examples are not wanting in the above pages.

mitives survive in frequentative or iterative forms (see Formation of Words [in the Grammar]); others by means of substantives, as *invidiare*, *odiare*, *studiare*.

II. Greek Elements.

Besides the Latin there remain two languages, upon which all the Romance dialects have more or less drawn, namely the Greek and the German.

If we reckon up the Greek elements contained in the Latin language, we find that only a few of them can be distinguished from those that occur in Romanesque diction; for of course no one will think of including here the scientific expressions that have more lately been introduced into the world. It is true that the Byzantines, long after the German irruption, continued to play the masters as well in Sicily and Lower Italy as in the South of Spain; but here no commixture of races on a large scale took place, and whatever Greek may have been introduced by the Massilians into the language of Gaul, must have perished subsequently with that language. We must not, however, ignore the fact, that a part of the list of Greco-Romanesque words owes its existence to the daily intercourse between the nations. The patriotic fables, promulgated by Joaquin Périon, Henricus Stephanus, and other learned Frenchmen about the affinity between their language and the Hellenic, would have been disavowed by their own authors, if the latter had been more closely acquainted with the laws of mutation and the foreign sources of the Romance languages. Even to Italian and Spanish men of letters Greek has been a treasure-house for the benefit of the non-Latin element in their respective languages. In fact the accidental resemblances between Greek and Romanesque words were all too well suited to tempt inquirers even to a hypothesis so opposed to all analogy: who is there, to instance only French words, that might not be reminded by the obsolete *airure* (a sowed field) of ἄρουρα, by *coïte* of κοίτη, by *moëlle* of μυελός, by *diner*

of *δειπνεῖν*, by *blessor* of *πλήσσειν*, by *paresse* of *πάρσις*, by *tétin* of *τίτθῃ*, by *trouer* of *τρύειν*? And yet these words have no claim whatever to the lineage which so speciously suggests itself.

The following list of Greek words that have been directly transplanted into the Romance literary languages (many examples being questionable), will afford some illustration of the extent, and nature of the Hellenic element.

ἄγκος (a flexure); Pg. *anco*, same.

ἀγωνιᾶν (to fret, be fearful, anxious), It. *agognare*, to desire, crave.

αἰσιος (lucky, seasonable); represented according to a dubious etymology by Pr. *ais*, Fr. *aise*, It. *agio*.

αἰσχος (ugliness, shame); Pg. *asco*, loathing. But this is probably from Goth. *aiviski* shame.

ἀκηδία (indifference, apathy); It. *accidia*, &c., M. Lat. *acedia*, *accidia*.

ἄτομος (atom); It. *attimo*, a moment.

βαλλίζειν (to hop); It. *balzare*, same.

βαστάζειν (to prop, support); not directly connected with, but from the same root as It. *bastone*, prop, staff, *bastire*, to build, Fr. *bâton*, *bâtir*, &c.

βαυκάλιον (a vessel), M. Lat. *baucalis*; It. *boccale*, Sp., Fr. *bocal*.

βέλεμνον (a bolt, shot); It. *baleno*, lightning.

βόθρος (hollow, delve); It. *botro* and *borro*, a hollow scooped by torrents.

βόρβορος (slime); Fr. *bourbe*, same (doubtful).

βοῦτις, *βύτις* (flask); It. *botte*, Wal. *botē*, Sp., Pr. *bota*, Fr. *botte*, *boute* with cognate significations, but traceable to other sources.

βριᾶν (to be strong), brings to mind the It. and Sp. *brío* (strength, lustiness, impetuosity), which perhaps, however, belong to an ancient native language.

βροντή (thunder); It. *brontolare*, to murmur.

βύρσα (hide); M. Lat. *byrsa*; It. *borsa*, Sp., Pg. *bolsa*, Fr. *bourse*, purse.

γάστρα (a vessel); It. *grasta* (flowerpot).

γενεά (generation); It. *genia*, rabble.
 γόμφος (peg, plug); M. Lat. *gomphus*; Pr. *gofon*, doorhinge.
 γυμνήτης (light-armed soldier); Sp. *ginete*, light-horseman.
 δρόμων (runner); in later Latin *dromo*, a kind of quick-sailing vessel; O. Fr. *dromon* in latter sense.

δύσπολος (peevish); It., Sp. *discolo*, same.

ένθήκη (lading, freight); It. *éndica* (a buying up.)

έρημος (lonely); It. *ermo*, Wal. *erm*, Sp. *yerma*, Pr., O. Fr. *erme*.

ζωμός (sauce); hence Sp. *zumo*, juice.

ήμικρανία (headache); It. *magrana*, Sp. *migraña*, Fr. *mi-graine*.

θετός (uncle); θεία (aunt); M. Lat. *thius*, *thia*; It. *zio*, *zia*, Sp. *tio*, *tia*, Pr. *sia*.

θύλακος (sack, bag); Sp. *talega*, Pr. *taleca*?

κάρα (head); M. Lat. *cara* (in Corippus, 6th cent.); Sp., Pg. *cara*, Fr. *chère*, It. *ciera*.

κάραβος (a light ship); M. Lat. *carabus*, a boat; It. *cara-vella*, Sp. *carabela*, Fr. *caravelle*.

καταβολή (a casting down); O. Fr. *caable*, a military engine, Pr. *calabre*.

καῦμα (burning, heat); Sp., Pg. *calma* heat of the day; see *Etyim. Wb.*

κόβαλος, wag; thence Fr. *gobelin*, goblin?

κόλλα (glue); It. *colla*, Sp. *cola*, Fr. *colle*.

κόλπος (gulf); It. *golfo*.

κόνδυ (drinking vessel); It. *gonda*, *gondla*.

κορμός (log); Sp. *corma*, fetter?

λάπαθον (pitfall); Pg. *lapa*, den?

λάπη, λάμπη (thin film on milk &c.); Sp. *lapa*, same.

λόπος (husk); It. *loppa*, husk; see *Etyim. Wb.*

μάγγανον (sling); It. *mangano*, *manganello*, Pr. *manganel*, O. Fr. *mangoneau*, stone sling, crossbow.

μακάριος (happy); It. *macari*, would to God.

μύσταξ (moustache); It. *mostaccio*, Fr. *moustache*, &c.

μωκᾶν (to scoff); Fr. *moquer*.

νήμα (cord); Sp. *nema*, seal formerly attached to a string surrounding the letter.

- οἶσος*, Fr. *osier*.
ὀξάλιος (sourish); Fr. *oseille*, sorrel.
ὀσμή (smell); Sp. *husmo*, same, perhaps also It. *orma*, Wal.
ωμή trace, orig. scent.
παιδίον (boy, servant); It. *paggio*, &c.
παλαίειν (to fight); Sp. *pelear*; comp. *Ethym. Wb.*
παραβολή (similitude, &c.), M. Lat. *parabola* meaning speech,
 word; It. *parola*, Fr. *parole*; see above, p. 53 last section.
πατάσσειν (to clap); It. *batassare* to shake.
πέταλον (top of tree); Fr. *poêle*, canopy.
πλάτυς (flat); It. *piatto*, Fr. *plat*, Sp. *chato*, same.
πρασιά (garden-bed); It. *prace*, space between two furrows.
πτωχός (beggar); It. *pitocco*.
σάβανον (linen); late Latin, *sabanum*, *savanum*; Sp. *sá-
bana*, Fr. *savena*.
σάγμα (packsaddle, also the load thereon); Lat. *sagma* in
 Vegetius *de re vet.*; Isid. 20. 16 says, *sagma*, quæ corrupte
 vulgo salma dicitur; It., Sp. *salma*, Pr. *sauma*, Fr. *somme*, It.,
 O. Sp. *soma*.
σειρᾶν (to draw with a rope); perhaps Sp. *sirgar*, to tow.
σειρήν (Siren, also a small bird); Fr. *serin*, canary-bird.
σκαίος (leftwards); Pr. *escai*, same.
σκάπτειν (to dig); It. *zappare*, Sp. *sapar*, Fr. *saper*, to sap.
σμίρις, *σμίρις* (emery); It. *smeriglio*, Sp. *esmeril*, Fr. *émeri*.
σπιθαμή (span); It. *spitamo*, Sp. *espita*.
στόλος (expedition, fleet); It. *stuolo*, O. Sp. *estol*, crew,
 Pr. *estol*, Wal. *stol*, fleet.
στρατιώτης (soldier); It. *stradiotto*, Sp. *estradiote*, O. Fr.
estradiot.
σχίδιον (splinter); Lat. *schidia* only in Vitruvius; It.
scheggia.
τάλαντον (balance); Lat. *talentum*; Sp. with Gr. *a* in
 middle syllable *talante*, Pr. *talán*, also *talen*, *talento*.
ταπεινός (low, little); It. *tapino*, sorry, wretched.
τέρετρον, see *taratrum* in the 2nd list.
τραγήματα (dessert); It. *treggea*, Sp. *dragea*, Fr. *dragée*,
 sugarplum.
τραυλός (stuttering); It. *troglio*, same.

τρώγτης (trout); see 2nd list.

τύφος (smoke); It., Sp. *tuso*, same; Fr. *étouffer*, to smother.

φάνος (light); It. *fanale*.

φάρος (lighthouse); Piedm. *farò*, perhaps It. *falò*, if not from the preceding [Fr. *falot*, Fr. Trans.]

φορτίον (load); It. *forziere*, coffer.

φράττειν (to enclose); It. *fratta*, thicket.

φώξ (a waterbird); perhaps Sp. *foxa*, a sort of duck.

χατος (shepherd's staff); Sp. *cayado*, same.

χαλαῖν (to loosen); Lat. *chalaré* used by Vitruvius; It. *calare*, Sp. *calar*, Fr. *caler*, to let down.

χοῖρος (boar); It. *ciro*.

These are, as will be readily seen, words of the most diversified meaning, but chiefly derived from naval life, introduced at different periods, and in part certainly after the Crusades. The Italian dialects supply many more; but the most fruitful domain for them is the Wallachian, which from its geographical position was more fitted than others for the reception of such elements of language.

III. German Elements.

While the elements directly derived from Greek are reducible to a few scattered words, the German is conspicuous as the language upon which Romanesque diction has drawn most largely throughout all its territories; so that this very diction has become no contemptible source of information even for German philologists.

The historical facts require but a hasty glance. The colonization and subjugation of Roman provinces by German nations went on, as is well known, during the fifth and as late as during the sixth century; only Dacia, the home of the Wallachian dialect, had long before been occupied by the Goths. These warlike irruptions had, however, taken place in very various modes. In some countries several populations had been planted in succession, in others several

at one and the same time. In the fifth century Italy witnessed the very transient domination of the Heruli, then she saw established that of the Ostrogoths, which lasted 66 years, afterwards that of the Lombards, which was prolonged for 200 years. The southwest of Gaul had been occupied by the Visigoths as early as the beginning of the 5th century; the south-eastern part of the country was afterwards occupied by the Burgundians, and the Northern by the Franks. Spain was overrun by various races in like manner. The modern Galicia, Asturia, Leon, and part of Lusitania were possessed at the beginning of the fifth century by the Suevians; another portion of Lusitania, together with the province of Cartagena, by the Alans; and a part of the south by the Vandals, who soon after, however, withdrew to Africa: the Visigoths occupied the North-east, and within the course of the next century extended themselves gradually till they had brought the whole peninsula under their sway. In these circumstances many races were partly or entirely destroyed; of the Ostrogoths, for instance, there can have remained but very few in Italy. For the most part, however, they kept their settlements and constitutions even after their subjugation by other German tribes.

The characteristics distinguishing these nations must often have exhibited themselves in different modifications of the *Romana rustica*; yet their importance must not be too highly estimated, least of all must they be considered as the absolute foundation of the diversity of the Romance languages. The German dialects at the time of the immigration were still very like one another, so that the different tribes had doubtless no need of dragomans among them. The Gothic exhibits the phonetic characteristics of German diction in their primitive form, though not without a certain dialectic colouring; from this form, as from their common origin, we must trace all the other languages of the Germanic stock. The Longobardian declares itself; to judge by the words that have been handed down to us, subject to the Old High German scheme of consonants, and accordingly substitutes *tenues* for *mediæ* and *z* for *t*, but not in every case. The Burgun-

dian stood nearer to the Gothic than to the High German (Grimm's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* p. 707). The old Frankish is in its vocalization but partially allied to the Gothic: it is more so in its scheme of consonants, which closely resembles the Old Saxon; from the Carlovingian time, however, it acquired an inclination towards the High German. As we at present possess no Lombardian, or Burgundian, or Suevian, and indeed scarcely any old Frankish memorials, we are principally impelled in our investigations regarding the German-Romanesque elements, so far as they have not been derived from later intercourse, to the Gothic system of sounds, of which we are enabled to form a satisfactory notion by a very ancient document [the scriptural translations of Ulfilas].

The violent immigration of the Germans, in which the natives of the country were neither extirpated nor expelled, was not accomplished without a great political and social revolution. There were now two races living together on the same soil, a ruling race, and with it another, which, if not everywhere absolutely oppressed, was yet subordinated and lightly esteemed, the former constituting the martial, and the latter preeminently the laboring class in the community. Of this relation we may still find traces in the Romance languages. The national name *Francus*, which as an appellative conveyed the same notion as *ingenuus*, attached also to itself in French and Italian the meaning of noble and courageous, as the O. Fr. *norôis* meant *Norwegian* and also *proud*. Meantime the native inhabitants according to ancient usage called their conquerors *Barbari*, and were themselves known by the equally general name of *Romani*, the two languages receiving the corresponding names of *lingua barbara* (*Theotisca* or *Germanica*), and *Romana*. Venantius Fortunatus made the distinction very observable, when he said, "Hinc cui Barbaries, illinc Romania plaudit: Diversis linguis laus sonat una viri."

The relation between the two nations was not, however, extended to their languages. The German was not the ruling tongue: the two recognised alike the supremacy of the

Latin, which was enabled to maintain its ancient position for civil and ecclesiastical uses; even the German laws were compiled in Latin. Thus the ruling nation even accustomed itself to the prevailing view among the educated people of the provinces, who placed the German on the same level as the Romance, and both far below the Latin language, though in intrinsic worth the two dictions may have been very unequal. It is not, however, to this modest estimate which the conquerors formed of the value of their own language (Charlemagne's notion was certainly a different one), that its decline on the conquered soil must be attributed; but rather to the incessant intermingling of the two nations, in which the numerical preponderance of the Romanesque gave them the advantage. The Anglo-Saxons alone, who came in contact with a much smaller native population, were enabled to maintain their own language, which was cultivated with great affection by their learned men, of course not comprising those of the Britons, who were averse to the Germans everywhere. But on the Continent many centuries had to pass away, before the new settlers would give up their *lingua barbara*; their military life, which kept them on close terms together, contributing much to its preservation, at the same time that it must have wounded their national feelings to adopt the language of the inferior class; nevertheless the constant intercourse and intercommunication of the two nations became at last incompatible with a diversity of language. Of the decline of the German language in the Romance territory distinct accounts are wanting. In France it is not too daring a conclusion to state that its use lasted nearly up to the partition of the Carlovingian Empire, or in the north of the country (if we examine in evidence the Frankish lay on king Louis the 3^d's victory over the Normans, 881), even to the end of the ninth century: its continuance in Gaul would thus comprise 400 to 500 years. In Italy the Longobardian dialect was still flourishing in the time of Paulus Diaconus (about A. D. 800), who often mentions it as a living language; it probably died out very soon after the partition of Verdun. As long as the Visigoths remained attached to the Arian

confession, their language enjoyed an advantage, which was lost by the Frankish and Longobardian; because it took the lead in public life, even in the Church. After 587, however, when king Reccared had become a convert to Catholicism, and had granted equal rights to all his subjects without distinction of race, that amalgamation of the Germans and Romans, which he and his successors desired, went on more rapidly than anywhere else, which was greatly to the detriment of the Gothic language.

The introduction of German words began no doubt shortly after the immigration of the Germans, and ended likewise with the extinction of their language.* In fact, we may distinguish two chronologically divided classes of these intruders, those that exhibit, even after assimilation a more ancient and quasi-Gothic form, and those that exhibit a more modern form. The signs of the former class are the vowels *a* and *i* appearing in place of the German *e* and *ē* (close and open), the diphthong *ai* for *ei*, and the consonants *p*, *t*, *d* for *f*, *z* and *t*; the second class is marked by the letters which the first rejects (see examples in Sec. 1). But seeing that this variation of the consonants, the High German phonetic mutation, as it is called, was a special characteristic of that dialect, which began to appear perhaps in the sixth century, we may infer that the second class introduced itself subsequently to this century, or, as regards France, where the Low German a long while held its ground against the High, only within the following century; and moreover, that all words of the first class, especially those which exhibit an antiquated vocalization, must have been introduced within the fifth century, or at least at the beginning of the sixth. About this time the intruders begin to appear in middle-

* According to the *Hist. litt. de la France*, p. 412, Sidonius Apollinaris complains that at Lyons (towards the close of the 5th century) nothing but German was spoken; the text, however, is not cited. The same author (Ep. 5. 2), admires the ease with which Syagrius had learned German; see Löbells *Grég. de Tours*, p. 104. Furthermore Lupus of Ferrières (ep. 70) made a journey into Germany (850), to acquire the language, of which the knowledge, he tells us, was indispensable.

Latin, or even (which is a more valid evidence of their diffusion), to be cited by authors as colloquial expressions. Isidorus, for instance, brings forward *armilause* (an article of dress, 19. 22) = O. Norse *ermalausi*, *francisca* (a Frankish weapon, 18. 9), = perhaps O. N. *frakka* (Grimm III. 443), as popular expressions, but *medus* (mead, 20. 3), = A. S. *medo*, *scala* (a drinking vessel, 20. 5), = O. H. G. *scāla*, and others, explicitly as Lat., so that he must have heard them from the mouths of natives, not of Goths. As regards France a third class of words is yet to be noticed. In the tenth century a new Germanic population, namely the Normans, established itself in the Northwest of the country. They certainly relinquished their own language, which is called by the authors of that period the *Dacisca* or Danish, with such facility, that under the second duke William I, it was spoken only on the coast (see Raynouard in the *Journ. des Savans*, 1820, p. 395, et seq.); nevertheless it has left no inconsiderable vestiges of itself in French, in which we may include, among others, a great number of nautical expressions.

In the Romance languages collectively the amount of the German elements is a large one. The *Etym. Wb.* discusses about 930 between living and obsolete words, which are not indeed in all cases unquestionable, and which, when traced back to their roots, give a somewhat lower number: on the other hand this figure excludes numerous derivatives and compounds, besides proper names in general. It is unquestionably the French language that is richest in this element; Gaul, which offered to the invaders the most extensive frontier, was also the country they overran in the greatest force. The southern part of the land was less effectively Germanized; hence we miss there many of the Northern words, and especially of those that came in from the Norman language; we must, however, take into account on this subject, especially for the earlier period, the deficiency of the stores we possess of literary documents. Out of the abovementioned number Gaul possesses about 450 words, that exclusively or at least originally belong to her. Next to the French the Italian is most richly endowed, and has a peculiar property in about

140. The southwestern languages are far poorer, and cannot point to much more than 50. Poorest of all is the Wallachian. It is true that no other province was so early occupied by the Germans as this; for even in the third century (272) the emperor Aurelianus had been forced to abandon it to the Goths; their dominion, however, was too transient to produce any important impression on the language of the country. A century later the Goths had penetrated into Mœsia and Thracia; subsequently, however, the great ethnical migration swept away before it the Germanic populations in these provinces, except a remnant which could not long maintain its nationality under the conflicting currents of the most diversified races which then succeeded one another. Of German words common to all the Romance languages there are about 300. This large stock may in part certainly be explained from German customs and institutions, the terms relating to which were adopted as indispensable by the Roman population, or in part from the constant intercourse of the several nations; the figure, is, nevertheless, a surprising one. •

The most various classes of ideas are represented in the Germanic element; the terms relating to warfare are, however, the most conspicuous. The Germans retained the important prerogative of forming the military caste; it is therefore no wonder that the provincial population should have grown accustomed to adopt such names as they heard in daily use for martial objects and relations, which furthermore were in great part novel to them. The result was, that eventually most of the Latin expressions for this class of ideas vanished, and gave place to Germanic equivalents. To these belong the following words, except some which are of a more modern date *; O. H. G. *werra* (*guerra*), *strit* (*estrit*, *estrif* Fr.), *sturm* (*stormo*), *reisa* (*raise* Fr.), *halt* (*halte* Fr.), *woldan* (*gualdana*),

* The Romance words in parentheses refer to the *Etym. Wb.*, wherein fuller explanations are given. The *Panromanesque* and Ital. words are left unspecified, as also the verbs, inasmuch as their termination evidences the language to which they belong. The unspecified German words are High German.

schaarwacht (*échauguette* Fr.), *matsken* L. G., *verb* (*massacre* Fr.), *raub* (*roba*), *büten* (*bottino*), *gilde* (*gelda, geldra*), *scara* (*schiera*), *heriban* (*arban* Fr.), *heriberga* (*albergo*), *biwacht* (*bivac* Fr.), *bergfrid* (*battifredo*), *bolwerk* (*boulevard* Fr.), *hornwerk* (*hornabeque* Sp.), *breme* Dut. (*berme* Fr.), *letze* (*liccia*), *brehha* (*brèche* Fr.), *Skirm* (*schermo*, whence *scaramuccia*), *brunja* (*broigne* Fr.), *halsberc* (*usbergo*), *helm* (*elmo*), *zarga* (*targa*), *blæse* A. S. (*blasone*), *brand* (*brando*), *flamberg* (*flamberge* Fr.), *bredda* Nors. (*brette* Fr.), *stock* (*stocco*), *helza* (*elsa*), *handhaba* (*hampe* Fr.), *handseax* A. S. (*hansacs* Fr.), *dolckin* Dut. (*dolequin*), *asc* (*azcona* Sp.), *helmbarte* (*alabarda*), *vigr* O. N. (*wigre* Fr.), *vifer* A. S. (*guivre* Fr.), *azgèr* (*algier* Fr.), *spiz* (*spito*), *spioz* (*espier* Fr.), *sper* (? *spiedo*), *daradh* A. S. (*dardo*), *stråla* (*strale*), *flitz* (*freccia*), *kohhar* (*couire* O. Fr.), *haakbus* Dut. (*arcobugio*), *gundfano* (*gonfalone*). *Habersack* (*havresac* Fr.), *knappsack* (*canapsa* Fr.). *Scarjo* (? *sgherro*), *landsknecht* (*lanzichenecco*), *sturiline* (*esturlenc* Fr.). *Bardi* O. N. (*barda*), *sporo* (*sperone*), *staph* (*staffa*), *brittil* (*brida, briglia*), *gahlaufan*, *verb* (*galoppare*). Of civil and judicial terms the following is perhaps an inventory; *mahal* (*mall-public* Fr.), *ordål* A. S. (*ordalie*), *ban* (*bando*), *fehde* (*faide* Fr.). *Sago* (*sayon* Sp.), *skepeno* O. S. (*scabino*), *barigildus* M. Lat. (*bargello*), *gastaldius* M. Lat. (*castaldo*), *muntwalt* (*mondualdo*), *muntboro* (*mainbour* Fr.), *gruo* adj. (*gruyer* Fr.), *herold* (*araldo*), *petil* (*bidello*), *manogalt* (*manigoldo*), *querca* (*carcan* Fr.), *skalh* (*scalco*), *siniskalh* (*siniscalco*), *marahskalh* (*mariscalco*), *adaling* (*adelenc* Fr.), *fæddr* O. N. (*fé* Fr.), *sclave* (*schiaivo*). *Alðd* (*allodio*), *fihu* (*fio, feudum*), *wetti* (*gaggio*), *nām* O. N. (*nans* Fr.), *waif* Eng. (*gaif* Fr.), *werand* O. Fris. (*guarento*). *Gafol* A. S. (*gabella*), *skilling* (*scellino*), *vierling* (*ferlino*), and other names of coins. Navigation and naval life are also largely represented, chiefly in expressions taken from the Norse and Dutch languages, as *skif* (*schifo*), *båt* A. S. (*batto*), *flyboat* Eng. (*flibote* Sp.), *sloop* Dut. (*chalupe* Fr.), *sneckia* O. N. (*esnéque* Fr.), *bootje* Dut. (*botequin* Fr.), *bak* Dut. (*bac* Fr.), *vleet* Dut. (*flete* Fr.), *kaper* Dut. (*capre* Fr.), *kiol* (*chiglia*), *vrånger* Swed. (*varangues* Fr.), *mast* (*masto*), *hùn* O. N. (*hune* Fr.), *stæde* Dut. (*étai* Fr.), *schoot* Dut. (*escota* Sp.), *höfudben-*

dur O. N. (*haubans* Fr.), *kajuit* Dut. (*cajute* Fr.), *hangmac* Dut. (*amaca*), *steórbord* A. S. (*stribord* Fr.), *thilia* O. N. (*tillac* Fr.), *lurz* adj. (*orza*), *loof* Eng. (*lof* Fr.), *vracht* Dut. (*fret* Fr.). *Bootsmann* (*bosseman* Fr.), *steuer mann* (*esturman* Fr.). *Hafen* (*havre* Fr.), *reida* O. N. (*rada*), *ebbe* (*ébe* Fr.), *bodmerei* (*bomerie* Fr.), *wrack* Eng. (*varech* Fr.). Hence also the names of the quarters of the compass, Fr. *nord*, *est*, *sud*, *ouest*. Verbs belonging to this class are; *arrisan* (*arriser*), *bogen* Dut. (*bojar*), *afhalen* Dut. (*affaler*), *fiskôn* (*fisgar*), *hala* O. N. (*halar*), *hissen* (*issare*), *kaaken* Dut. (*caquer*), *tow* Eng. (*touer*), *trekken* Dut. (*atracar*). Examples no less numerous are supplied by the animal kingdom; *hros* (*ros* Fr.), *reineo* (*guaragno*), *hack* Eng. (*haca* Sp.), *gelding* Eng. (*guilledin* Fr.), *hobby* Eng. (*hobin* Fr.), *kracke* (*criquet* Fr.), *zebar* (*toivre* Fr.), *ram* (*ran* Fr.), *belhamel* Dut. (*bélier* Fr.), *geiz* (*gate* Fr.), *zicki* (*ticchio*), *steinbock* (*stambecco*), *gamz* (? *camozza*), *elenthier* (*élan* Fr.), *big* Dut. (*biga*), *frisking* (*fresange* Fr.), *merisuin* (*marsouin* Fr.), *dahs* (*tasso*), *braccho* (*bracco*), *bicce* A. S. (*biche* Fr.), *reinhardt* (*renard* Fr.), *haso* (*hase* Fr.), *fehe* (*faina*), *mul* Dut. (*mulot* Fr.), *zisimús* (*cisemus* Fr.). *Sperwære* (*sparaviere*), *huwo* (*gufo*), *chouh* (*chouette* Fr.), *agalstra* (*gazza*, *agace*), *tâha* (*taccola*), *fincho* (*finco*), *meseke* L. G. (*mésange* Fr.), *throscela* (*trale* Fr.), *speh* (*épeiche* Fr.), *sprehe* (*esprohon* Fr.), *sneffa* (*sgneppa*), *möwe* (*mouette*), *heigro* (*aghirone*), *hagastalt* (*hétaudeau* Fr.), *gante* L. G. (*ganta*), *kahn* (*cane* Fr.), *halbente* (*halbran* Fr.). *Sturjo* (*storione*), *kabeljauw* L. G. (*cabeliau* Fr.), *brachsme* (*brème* Fr.), *spierling* (*éperlan* Fr.), *haring* (*aringa*). *Creep* Eng. verb (*crapaud* Fr.), *bizan* verb (*biscia*). *Krebiz* (*écrevisse* Fr.), *hummer* (*homard* Fr.), *krabbe* (*crevette* Fr.), *veolc* A. S. (*welke* Fr.), *miza* (*mite* Fr.). Parts of the body; *wanka* (*guancia*), *lippe* (*lippe* Fr.), *nif* L. G. (*niffa*), *drozza* (*strozza*), *halsadera* (*haterel* Fr.), *nocke* Dut. (*nuca*), *zitze* (*tetta*), *baldrich* (? *barriga* Sp.), *skina* (*schiena*), *ancha* (*anca*), *tappe* L. G. (*zampa*), *poot* L. G. (*poe* Fr.), *skinko* (*stinco*), *knoche* (*nocca*). *Schopf* (*ciuffo*), *gran* (*greña* Sp.), *zata* (*zazza*). *Mago* (*magone*), *milz* (*milza*), *rate* Dut. (*rate* Fr.). Vegetable kingdom; *salaha* (*saule* Fr.), and the following Fr., *îva* (*if*), *hulis* (*houx*), *krausbeere* (*groseille*), *braambezie* Dut. (*framboise*), *bezie* Dut. (*best*), *klette* (*gleton*), *henbane* Eng. (*hane-*

bane), *weit* (*guado* It.), *weld* (*gualda*), *spelz* (*spelta*), *raus* (*raus* Fr.), *lisca* (*lisca*), *mos* (*mousse* Fr.). — Earth, elements; *melm* (*melma*), *molta* (? *malta*), *land* (*landa*), *laer* Dut. (*larris* Fr.), *waso* (*gazon* Fr.), *scolla* (*zolla*), *mott* (*motta*), *busch* (*bosco*), *wald* (*gaut* Fr.), and the following Fr.; *rain* (*rain*), *haugr* O. N. (*hoge*), *bluyster* Dut. (*blostre*), *thurm* (*tormo* Sp.), *scorro* (*écore*), *lahha* (*lacca*). *Wâc* (*vague* Fr.), *bed* A. S. (*bied* Fr.), *wat* (*guado*), *hrim* O. N. (*frimas* Fr.), *wasal* (*walaie*, *guilée* Fr.). *Glister* Eng. (*esclistre* Fr.). So for garments and implements of the must various kinds we find Germanic expressions in considerable numbers, e. g. for “glove” *quanto* and Pg. *lua*; so for “reel, shuttle, distaff”, that is for instruments of the most peaceful character, It. *aspo*, *spuola*, *rocca* [from *Haspel*, *Spuhle*, *Rocken*]; for which we certainly find no names in Latin with the exception of *colus*. Abstract terms are introduced less plentifully, as *eiver* adj. (*afre* Fr.), *geili* (*gala*), *grimmida* (*grinta*), *hast* (*hâte* Fr.), *haz* (*hé*, *haine* Fr.), *heit* O. N. (*hait*, *souhait* Fr.), *hizza* (*izza*), *hônida* (*onta*), *lob* (*lobe* Fr.), *sin* (*senno*), *skern* (*scherno*), *slahta* (*schiatto*), *smâhi* (*smacco*), *ufjô* Goth. (*uffo*), *urguoli* (*orgoglio*), *vile* A. S. (*guile* Fr.), *wisa* (*guisa*) and others. Furthermore a few words out of the realm of superstition may be noticed, “*hellekin* Dut. (? Fr. *hellequin*), *werwolf* (*garou*, *loup-garou*), *mar* (*cauchemar*), *grima* O. N. (*grimoire*), *trôlla* O. N. verb (*trouiller*).” The deep penetration of the German language into Romance diction cannot, however, be better proved by anything than by the great number of adjectives and still greater of verbs, which the latter has adopted. It is true the Latin language sometimes refused to yield, as could not but have been expected, a special expression for the import of the foreign word; frequently moreover the Latin form might be displeasing; but for the most part we can scarcely find any ground for these adoptions beyond the caprice of language, and the attractiveness of the foreign sounds. Such adjectives are; *bald* (*baldo*), *blanh* (*bianco*), *blao* (*biavo*), *blôz* (*biotto*), *brûn* (*bruno*), *bruttisc* (*brusco*), *dwerch* (*guercio*), *falo* (*falbo*), *flau* (*flou* Fr.), *frank* (*franco*), *frisc* (*fresco*), *gagol* A. S. (*gagliardo*), *gâhi* (*gajo*), *gelo* (*giallo*), *gram* (*gramo*), *grim* (*grim* Fr.), *gris* (*grigio*), *heswe*

(have Fr.), *jol* O. N. subst. (*giulivo*), *karg* (*gargo*), *lam* (*lam* Pr.), *leid* (*laido*), *listig* (*testo*), *lòs* (*lozano* Sp.), *lunzet* (*lonzo*), *minnistò* (? *mince* Fr.), *morn?* (*morne* Fr.), *mutz* (*mozzo*), *resche* (*reche* Fr.), *salo* (*salavo*), *sleht* (*schietto*), *slimb* (*sghembo*), *snel* (*snello*), *stolz* (*estout* Fr.), *strac* (*estrac* Fr.), *strùhhal* (*sdrucchiolo*), *swank* (*sguancio*), *tarni* (*terne* Fr.), *trüt* (*drudo*), *welk* (*gauche* Fr.), *zähi* (*taccagno*). Examples of verbs are; *blendan* (*blinder*), *bletzan* (*blessen*), *brestan* (*briser*), *brüttian* A. S. (*britar*), *dansòn* (*danzare*), *dihan* (*tecchire*), *drescan* (*trescare*), *frumjan* (*fornire*, *fromir*), *furban* (*forbire*), *glitsen* (*glisser*), *grinan* (*grinar*), *hartjan* (*ardire*), *hazjan* (*agazzare*), *hazòn* (*hair*), *hònjan* (*onire*), *breinsa* O. N. (*rincer*), *jehan* (*gecchire*), *kausjan* (*choisir*), *klappen* Dut. (*glapir*), *krassa* O. N. (*écraser*), *krazòn* (*grattare*), *krimman* (*gremire*), *lappen* (*lappare*), *lecchòn* (*leccare*), *leistan* (*lastar*), *magan* (*smagare*), *marrjan* (*marrire*), *raffen* and *rappen* (*raffare* and *rappare*), *rakjan* (*recare*), *ridan* (*riddare*), *ròstjan* (*rostire*), *gasaljan* (*agasalhar*), *skenkan* (*escanciar*), *skerran* (*eschirer*, *déchirer*), *scherzen* (*scherzare*), *skiuhan* (*schivare*), *skutilòn* (*scotolare*), *stampfòn* (*stampare*), *tòmjan* O. S. (*tomar*), *trechen* (*treccare*), *wahtèn* (*gualare*), *wandjan* (*gandir*), *wankjan* (*ganchir*), *walzjan* (*gualcire*), *warnòn* (*guarnire*), *warjan* (*guarire*), *waròn* (*garer*), *wartèn* (*guardare*), *weidòn* (*guéder*), *werfan* (*guerpier*), *windan* (*ghindare*), *witan* Goth. (*guidare*), *wogen* (*vogare*), *zaskòn* (*tascar*), *zergen* (*tarier*), *zeran* (*tirare*), *zilèn* (*attillare*), *zuccòn* (*toccare*).

That this element comprises many words which are wanting in the modern Germanic languages, will be readily discerned. Many even appear, which are rare in the old dialects, or only known to us from a single one, as the Gothic *aibr* (Pr. *aib*), *manojan* (*amanoir*), *galaubs* (*galaubia*), *threijan* (Pg. *trigar*), Longob. *gaida* (Piem. *gajda*), A. S. *læva* (Sp. *aleve*), O. H. G. *sago* (Sp. *sayon*), *stullan* (It. *trastullare*), *eiver* (Fr. *afre*). For others, as Pr. *aloc* (M. Lat. *allodium*), It. *bargello* (*barigildus*), the Germanic form is wanting. Many have preserved their antique literal form more purely in Romanesque diction than in modern German, as It. *bara*, *palco*, *lisca*, *seranna*, *suello*, Pr. *raus*, which exactly corresponds to Goth. *raus* (N. H. G. *rohr*). A great many of the Northern

intruders have certainly been gradually ejected from the Romance languages, which were in a position to dispense with them; they have shared the fate of the numerous Latin words which have been superseded by synonyms, or have perished from various other causes.

Another notable circumstance must here be mentioned, which shows plainly how much of imitation was excited by the genius of the foreign language. We refer to the forms comprising a graduated scale of vowels *i*, *a*, *u*, or usually *i*, *a*, only, generally constituting interjections (*bif baf buf, kling klang, sing sang, wirr warr*), that have found an echo in Romanesque diction, which has indeed a few other though less usual forms of this kind, especially in the popular dialects. Ex.; It. *tric-trac, ninna-nanna*; Sp. *zis-zas, rífi-rafe*; Cat. *flist-flast, farrigo-farrágo*; N. Pr. *drin-dran, blisco-blasco*; Fr. *pif-paf, mic-mac, zig-zag, bredi-breda*. The complete scale *i*, *a*, *u*, appears in the Milanese *flicch-flacch-flucch*, in the sense of *gibberish*.

By the assimilation of Germanic elements the Romance family of languages suffered no essential perturbation in its organization: it overcame pretty completely the influence of the foreign grammatical system. In its formation of words it cannot indeed dissemble some Germanic modes of derivation and composition, even in its syntax a few Germanic traits may be found; these peculiarities, however, are lost sight of when we take a general view of the structure of the several languages.*

While thus the Romanesque diction, resting upon popular Latin as its general basis, sustained a large adulteration of Germanic with a scarcely perceptible one of Greek elements, its several provinces, in consequence of various important events, were invaded by other elements from very various languages. These were in part the original languages in the several countries which had been overwhelmed by the Latin; in part other languages which subsequently found their way thither; of

*The influence of the German syntax on the French has been lately investigated by Du Ménil, *Form.* p. 235, et seq.

both these classes we shall speak hereafter. In connexion with these influences we must criticize the degree of adulteration which has been sustained by each of the Romance idioms, the German and Greek influences having been nearly similar everywhere; it is not so much the numbers of the foreign words, as the number of the foreign languages and the constitution of the latter (many of which were less easily amalgamated with the Latin than the Greek and German were), which remain to be criticized by the etymological inquirer.

JURISDICTIONS.

We now proceed to the second topic of our discourse, namely, the several provinces or jurisdictions of the Romance family of languages. Within each jurisdiction we have to enumerate the nations that originally inhabited or that subsequently colonized it; and as regards their languages we must briefly examine their peculiar components so far as these can yet be ascertained; their limits, their names *, their earliest public use, their earliest memorials and documents, and the first grammatical labors that have been bestowed on them. Some attention must also be devoted to the most important popular dialects, in which, however, we shall limit ourselves to their literal phonetic relations. — While the various names of the several languages have to be mentioned in turn, we must not have the general name unnoticed. The Romans called their own language *Latina*; the term *Romana* appears but once in early times in a poem in Plin. Hist. Nat. 31. 2, and in the middle ages very rarely (comp. A. W. Schlegel's *Observ.*, not. 24). The phrase "Romanesque languages" (*Romanische Sprachen*) was first used in recent times, and in Germany, as a general expression for all the descend-

* For a more specific account see Fuchs's *Romanische Sprachen*.

ants of the Latin. In former periods each of these languages laid claim to this denomination for itself exclusively, as, for instance, the old troubadour I. Rudel says of the Provençal, "Tramet lo vers en chantan en plana lengua romana", *Choix* III. 100, or as Berceo (p. 1) says of the Spanish, "Quiero fer una prosa en roman paladino". But a much more usual substitute (see Ex. by Raynouard, *Choix* VI. 371), for *lingua romana* was the subst. Pr., O. Fr. *romans*, Sp. *romance*, It. *romanzo*, which was derived from the adv. *romanice* (although *lingua romana* was not in common use), latinized into *romancium*, whence the Pr. verb *romanzar*. * Raynouard, in whose view *langue romane* meant only Provençal, employed for the whole body of languages the stiff and circuitous expression *langues de l' Europe latine*, and subsequently the compound *neo-latin*, which has received more approval; so in It. we may say *lingue neo-latine*, but hardly *lingue romanze*.

Even the name of *Latin* was constantly claimed by these languages, especially by the Italian (as will be hereafter seen); indeed one of them bears at the present day the name of *ladin*. Hence also in the *Poema del Cid*, v. 2676, a Moor acquainted with Spanish is called *un Moro latinado*. Collectively these languages were also called *vulgares* (popular). In O. G. the expression for Romanesque was *wälsch* (*walahisc*), probably from *Gallus*; see J. Grimm in *Schmidt's Zeitsch. für Geschichte* III. 257.

I. Italian Jurisdiction.

The ancient idioms of Italy, beginning from the North, were the Gallic on both shores of the Po, the Etruscan towards

* The It. *romanzo* may also be used adjectivally, as is even the case with the O. Fr. term, but very rarely, e. g. *lainge romance* in a Psalter of the 14th century, *Liv. des Rois*, p. 62. There can have been no difficulty in forming the adj. out of the adverb. Or ought we to assume a derivative in *icius* (*romancicius*); though such a formation elsewhere is not usual in proper names, and moreover requires a transposition of the accent? The explanation given above is certainly the most simple and natural.

the southwest; then the three allied dialects towards the south-east, the Umbrian, with the Sabellian and the Volscian in central Italy, and the Oscan in the South. The Greek language, which had been introduced in unremembered times, was diffused through Lucania, Apulia and Calabria, where the Messapian was gradually extinguished. The Sabellian dialect spread as far as Rome: a Sabine influence on a dialect not belonging to this family, but sprung from the same original stock, gave in all probability to the language of Rome the form in which we are acquainted with it (Mommsen, *Unterital. Dial.* p. 364). Among the nations that spoke these languages the Sabines, who received the rights of citizenship as early as A. U. C. 486, were the first to adopt the use of Latin. The eminently cultured Oscan dialect held its ground longer, and was extant in Varro's time, but not in Strabo's. During the Marsian war and the time of Sulla the old Etruscan nation went to destruction with all its science and literature; the nobles, who had conducted the public administration, fell by the sword; military colonies were established in all the great cities, where the Latin language thenceforth reigned paramount; the bulk of the nation lost all property in the land, and pined in poverty under foreign masters; this oppression stifled all national recollections in the minds of their humiliated descendants, and left them no other wish than to become Roman altogether (Niebuhr). In this manner the Latin language, after it had also subjected Gallia Cisalpina and the Grecian territories of the South, attained an undisputed supremacy throughout the Peninsula.

The foreign nations, that after the overthrow of the Roman power settled in great numbers in Italy and on the islands, were composed of Germans, or, in the south, of Byzantines and Arabs, the latter having appeared subsequently to the year 827. Of the Bulgarians, Sarmatians and other nations that Alboinus brought into the peninsula, we have particulars in Paulus Diaconus, 2. 26.

As regards the components of the Italian literary language it must at once be averred that it does not contain a trace of those elements of ancient Italic languages which have been

preserved to us on brazen or stone tablets, coins or vases; the case appears to be the same with the dialects. A few words only which are commemorated by ancient authors, and which they must therefore have still found lingering in popular use, are still traceable; as for instance *maccus* known from the *Atellanæ*, but not however a true Oscan word (comp. Gr. *μακκοῦν*), is preserved in the Sardinian *maccu*; the Sabine *cumba* for *lectica* may perhaps be extant in *cata-comba*; and so *veia* for *plaustrum*, likewise Sabine, in *veggia*, though on the ground of its signification *vehes* would suit better; so also the Umbrian *plotus* in *piota*. The possible relations between Old-Italic and Italian phonetic laws have been discussed in *Etym. Wb.* p. 8. In Greek words the language is the next most abundant to the Wallachian, and in German words to the French. The Arabic words it has appropriated, such as *alcova*, *ammiraglio*, *arsenale*, *assassino*, *baracane*, *catrame*, *cremisi*, *feluça*, *fondaco*, *gelsomino*, *magazzino*, *meschino*, *mu-gavero*, *ricamo*, *taballo* and many others, have been mostly imported from the Spanish; a few are originally It., as *zecca* (whence Sp. *zeca*, *seca*), and *zirbo*.* From the Slavonic it has borrowed fewer words than might have been expected from the vicinity of the two languages; among these are to be reckoned *brenna*, *indarno* and perhaps others. Some words like *lazzo* and *loja* guide our attention in a remarkable manner to the Basque language; comp. *latza*, *loya*. Of Gallic or British elements, not common to the sister languages, there is scarce a trace to be found. Neither the French element contributed by the Romanized Normans in Sicily and Naples, nor the Catalanian element in Sardinia, nor the Provençal** in the North, so far as it really entered into the literary language, can be looked upon as of a foreign character. If we now subject the Italian vocabulary to a closer scrutiny there remains, after abstraction of the above mentioned components, a small residuum of foreign and enigmatical elements. As these must have had their origin somewhere, we are com-

* For a Critique on the Oriental element see Monti's *Correzioni al Vocab. della Crusca* II. 1, p. 306.

** Comp. Nannucci, *Voci italiane derivate dalla lingua provenzale* Fir. 1840.

pelled to take them in part for strangers from remote countries, that were casually wafted to the shore, in part for remnants of the ancient idioms, such as owing to the scantiness of our resources cannot now be traced to their origin. The Tuscan language, for example, was extant in the time of the emperors, and even Gellius appears to mention it as a living language. In spite of all commixture, the Italian is still the purest of the Romance dialects, and the daughter of the Latin that most closely resembles her: on a general calculation it would appear that scarcely a tenth part of its vocabulary is non-Latin.

The language extends outside of Italy over the canton of Tessin and a part of the Tyrol and of Illyria. It was at first merely called *lingua vulgaris*, in Dante *vulgare latinum*, *Latium vulgare*, or simply *vulgare*; in Boccaccio *latino volgare* (comp. Blanc's Gramm. p. 15). Afterwards, when Florence had outstripped all other places in the art of speech it was called Tuscan; nevertheless the expression *Italian* remained in constant use; and Isidorus even calls it (12. 7. 57) *lingua Italica*. Abroad it appears also to have been called Lombardian, as in Pr. e. g., *lengatge lombard* (*Leys d'amor* II. 388). Its use among the educated classes of the country is attested as early as the tenth century. To this effect is commonly alleged an expression by a native man of learning named Gonzo, who flourished about 960; "Falso putavit S. Galli monachus me remotum a scientia grammaticæ artis, licet aliquando retarder usu nostræ vulgaris linguæ, quæ latinitati vicina est" (Rayn. *Choix* I. p. 14). By Witichind's testimony Otho I. knew how to speak it (for in reference to a king of Italy he can hardly have meant any other language): "Romana lingua Sclavonicaque loqui sciebat, sed rarum est quod earum uti dignaretur" (Meibom. I. p. 650). We may further cite here the well-known passage in the epitaph of Gregory the Fifth, a Pope of French extraction, who died towards the end of the tenth century.

"Usus Francisca, vulgari, et voce latina

Instituit populos eloquio triplici."

It does not require to be formally proved that the priests and rulers used to speak to the people in the popular language. A

few forms of words in it are traced as far back as the fifth century.* We moreover have documents of the 12th century in Italian mixed with Latin, as for instance a very remarkable one of the year 1122 (Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* II., col. 1047). The earliest genuine specimens of the language are credibly referred to the same century. They consist of a now defaced inscription of the year 1134 in the Cathedral of Ferrara, of which, however, the genuineness has been disputed by Tiraboschi (*Lett. ital. Fir.* 1805, 3, 365). It runs as follows: "Il mile cento trenta cenque nato Fo questo tempio a S. Gogio donato, Da Glelmo ciptadino per so amore Et ne a fo l'opra Nicolao scoltore." Similarly in another now defaced inscription on a stone tablet, formerly in the possession of the Ubaldini family of Florence, there were thirty six short verses, of which the first six were Latin (1184); its genuineness, however, is denied on good grounds by Tiraboschi and other critics.** But for the history of the language, it is, as may be supposed, of little consequence whether the earliest efforts in vernacular poetry belong to that century. It was only the next century that witnessed the rapid blossoming of a new literature, partly in the dialects, partly in the "written language". The origin of this written language must be sought in central Italy, and rather in Tuscany than in Rome, but even there it stands so high above the local dialect, that the name of a language of convention is suited to it even more than to our High German. Hence there is certainly some truth in Ugo Foscolo's well-known maxim, "l'italiana è lingua letteraria; fu scritta sempre, e non mai parlata", because even the educated man, when propriety does not expressly demand the use of the literary language, substitutes for it his native dialect. Of Old Italian we cannot speak in the same sense as of an Old French; the language of the thirteenth century is only

* See for instance Lanzi, *Saggio di lingua etrusca*, I. 423 &c. Muratori, *de origine linguæ Italicæ* in the *Antiq. Ital.*, vol. 2. Ciampi, *de usu linguæ italicæ saltem a sæc.* 5.

** Of late Fauriel has again declared in favor of the genuineness of these documents, see his work *Dante et les origines de la langue et de la littérature italiennes*, Par. 1854, 2. 396.

distinguished by a few, for the most part popular, forms and words, and not by its grammatical structure, from the most recent. There is no lack of editions of the oldest writers. A very recent collection of the lyric poets of this first century of Italian literature is the *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana*, Fir. 1816. II. Another, the *Raccolta di rime antiche toscane*, Palermo 1817. IV, extends as far as the 14th century.

The Italians began early to think and write about their own language. Even Dante began to do this in his Latin treatise, unfortunately left unfinished, *De vulgari eloquentia*; in the first book of which he handled the Italian national language (*vulgare illustre*), which was to be sought for, not in individual cities or provinces, but in the works of the great authors of the country. But the first to treat of the Italian language of his own time, in the form of dialogues, was the celebrated Pietro Bembo, whose work was published in 1525, shortly after its completion, under the title of *Prose*: Castelvetro appended a shrewd commentary to it. Composed even earlier than the *Prose*, but published later, were the Slavonian Fortunio's *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua*, which between the years 1516 and 1552 went through as many as fifteen editions. In spite of numerous grammatical works in that and the two following centuries, the first really systematic grammar that we encounter is that which was first published by Corticelli in the year 1745 (see Blanc 23—34). The lexicographical literature commences with Glossaries to celebrated authors. The first of these was Lucillo Minerbi's glossary to Boccaccio, 1535. Shortly after it, in 1536, appeared a similar glossary to Ariosto, Petrarca, Boccaccio and Dante, by Fabrizio Luna; next a more comprehensive dictionary by Accarisio, 1543; and in the same year a glossary to Boccaccio by Alunno, of which several editions came out. After many similar attempts in this department appeared at length in 1612 the well-known vocabulary of La Crusca, which comprised a preliminary outline of Italian lexicology. The first etymological Dictionary was contributed by a foreigner, Ménage, in *Le origini della lingua italiana*, Parigi 1669; soon

after which followed a second by Ferrari, the *Origines linguæ italicæ*, Patavii 1676; and subsequently a second edition of the former work, published at Geneva, 1685.

Dialects. The figure of Italy, its extensive prolongation from the Alps towards the South-east, which affords free play to very various climatic influences, and the large islands adjacent have always fitted the country for the production of various strongly marked dialects, in proportion as human organs are variously developed between the Lake of Como and the Straits of Messina. Even Dante has enumerated the dialects in the early work that we have cited; and his account and judgements on the subject are still worthy of consideration. He divides (1. 10) Italy under this aspect into two equal parts, a western and an eastern, to the right and left of the Apennines, and enumerates fourteen dialects, namely, those of Sicily, Apulia, Rome, Spoleto, Tuscany, Genoa, Sardinia, Calabria, Ancona, Romagna, Lombardy, Treviso with Venice, and Aquileja: this division has been followed by Salviati (*Opp. Mil.* II. 357). In recent times the boundaries have been more correctly drawn through the breadth of the peninsula, which has thus been divided into three lingual provinces, lower-Italian, central-Italian, and upper-Italian.* To the lower-Italian belong the Neapolitan, Calabrian, Sicilian and Sardinian dialects. To the central-Italian are referred the Tuscan dialects, namely, those of Florence, Siena, Pistoja, Pisa, Lucca and Arezzo, besides the Roman. To this province Corsica and part of Sardinia appear to belong. The upper-Italian comprises, if we trust the careful investigations of an Italian grammarian, four departments, the Genoese, the Gallo-Italian, the Venetian, and the Friulian.

The Gallo-Italian comprises three groups of dialects, the Lombardian (of Milan, Como, Ticino, Bergamo, Crema, Brescia, Cremona &c.), the Æmilian (of Bologna, the Romagna, Modena, Reggio, Ferrara, Mantua, Parma, Piacenza,

* We must here refer the reader to the meritorious treatises upon this subject by Fernow, Fuchs, Blanc and L. Lemcke, the last of which may be found in Herrig's *Archiv*, VI. VII. IX.

Pavia, &c.) and the Piedmontese (of Turin, Ivrea and Alessandria).* A complete consistency in phonetic relations must not be expected in the individual dialects, inasmuch as they have not always been competent to resist the pressure of adjacent idioms and the influence of the written language. And in this way a single Latin or Italian sound may have as many as three or four different representatives, which have often, however, followed a common line of development. We shall not in the following survey direct our attention to such characteristics, as the dialects have in common with the written language, like the interchanges of *l* and *r*, or of *b* and *v*, or the duplications of consonants, so far as these traits are not peculiarly conspicuous; but only to those elements, in which the character of the dialects is most decidedly marked, as in the diphthongs *ie* and *uo*, in the weak desinences *e* and *o*, in the combination *gli*, as well as *chi*, *pi*, *fi*, where they are understood as equivalents of *chj*, *pj*, *fj*, and in the palatals *c* (with *sc*) and *g*, besides *z*, which deserves some consideration. The central-Italian dialects resemble the common language so closely, that they may be neglected in a survey so general as the present; it is sufficient to observe that the Roman dialect, like those of the North West, ejects *r* (*amà*, *temè*, *dormi*), and, like the Southern, weakens *nd* into *nn*. The difference between the lower and upper dialects is easily apprehended; the former effaces consonants, the latter vowels; the former is distinguished by its softness, the latter by its comparative hardness; nevertheless this description must not be admitted without restrictions; because, for instance, the former preserves the *tenuis* while the latter has an inclination to soften it. But there are no definite and trustworthy signs of the two dialects, like those by which we distinguish High and Low German; unless we admit the sound *sci*, so far as it generally holds its ground in the South, while in the North it is superseded almost everywhere by *ss*.

* See *Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici* di B. Biondelli, Milano 1853. We are glad to find that it is the author's intention to discuss the rest of the Italian dialects in the same manner.

To proceed to the lower Italian dialects (which claim precedence because they have more of the chief Italian characteristic, namely fulness of form), the Neapolitan preserves the short-Latin *e* and *o* (*dece*, *bono*), but admits the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* even before groups of consonants (*diente*, *puorco*). In the like situation it generally preserves *i* and *u* where the Italian has *e*, *o* (*stritto*, *curto*). The weak vowels in the desinence are usually preserved as in Italian. As regards the consonants *gli* enjoys all its rights. *Pi* however becomes *chi*, even *bi* is changed into *ghi* (thus *chiù* stands for *più*, *ghiunno* for *biondo*), while *fi* passes into *sci* (*fiamma sciamma*). The palatals are as in Italian, except that *g* is generally softened into *j* (*piace*, *scena*, *gente*, *jentile*, *leje* for *legge*). *Z* also figures as in the written language. Other peculiarities are, the aphæresis of *i* before *n* (*'ngiuria*); the resolution of *l* into *o* before dentals (*balzano* *baozano*, *caldo* *cavodo*); the change of *s* into *z*, chiefly after *r* (*verso vierzo*, *possa pozza*); that of *d* into *r* (*dùto rito*, *dire ricere*, *dodici rureci*); the not infrequent transformation of the *media* into the *tenuis*; the frequent interchange of *b* and *v*; the assimilation of the groups *mb*, *nd* into *mm*, *nn* (*piombo chiummo*, *mondo munno*); the strong enunciation of initial, and the frequent duplication of medial consonants, and the insertion of a *j* between two vowels * (*uffizio affizejo*).

The Sicilian dialect likewise substitutes simple *e* and *o* for *ie* and *uo* (*miei mei*, *cuore cori*). It changes *e* and *o*, not only as unaccented desinences, but even as accented medial elements into *i* and *u* (*verde virði*, *giuso jusu*, *arena rina*, *vapore vapuri*). It hardens *gli* into *gghi* (*foglio fogghiu*). *Pi* is likewise changed into *chi*, *fi* into *sci* (*pianto chiantu*, *fiore sciuri*). The sibilants, including *z*, appear as in the written language. Among other characteristics are the resolution of *l* into a vowel (*altro autru*); the assimilation of *mb*, *nd* (*gamba gamma*, *fundo funno*); the insertion of *j* (*spiou*, *spijuni*) as above. The following are remarkable peculiarities; the change

* We owe a very acute description of this dialect to F. Wentrup; see *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Neap. Mundart*, Wittenberg 1855.

of *ll* into *dd*, English *th* (*cavallo cavaddu*), and the frequent ejection of initial *v* (*volgere urgiri*, *volpe urpi*).

Between the above two dialects comes the Calabrian midway. It agrees with the Sicilian in its use of *i* and *u* (*onde undi*, *questo chistu*), and *ggh* for *gl* (*figlio figghiu*), and like the Neapolitan ejects *i* before *n* (*'nfermu*). One peculiar trait is that it changes *fi* to *j*, or according to another orthography to *hh* (*fume jume hhume*); it treats *ll* in the same way (*nullo nujo*).

Sardinia, considered in regard to its language, falls into three provinces. Towards the North prevails the dialect of Gallura, which is described as a foreign and imported one, consequently as very corrupt Italian; towards the centre that of Logodoro, which manifestly bears the most peculiar stamp, and is commonly designated as the most ancient or as the genuine Sardinian; towards the south that of Campidano, which has more of an Upper-Italian character; it is spoken in Cagliari.* We shall confine ourselves to the Logodorian dialect. We there find *e* and *o* for *ie*, *uo* (*vieni beni*, *giuoco jogu*); the desinence *e* is preserved, but *u* is substituted for *o* (*septe*, *fogliu*). *Gl*, *gn*, are partly preserved and partly changed to *z*, *nz* respectively (*scoglio iscogliu*, *aglio azu*, *segno signu*, *vigna binza*, *tegno tenzo*). *Chi* initial is often changed into *j* = *g'* (*chiavo jau*); *pi*, *fi*, demean themselves mostly as in Italian (Campid. *planta*, *planu pranu*, *flamma*). *Ll* for the most part becomes *dd* as in Sicilian (*molle modde*, *pelle pedde*, *bellu*). *S* impure requires a prothetic *i* (*istella*, *ispedire*), which is one of the characteristic signs of this idiom. To the palatal *c* corresponds sometimes a sharp *z*, sometimes a guttural (*certo zertu*, *braccio brazzu*, *cera*, *chera*, *luce lughe*); to a palatal *g* sometimes *g*, sometimes soft *z*, sometimes the soft guttural, and sometimes *j*, where it has been the original element (*genere*, *girare*, *zente*, *anghelu*, *maju* i. e. *maggio*). *Z* in certain terminations becomes *ss* (*vizio vissiu*, *spazio ispassiù*). In *qu* the *u* sometimes vanishes, and in *gu* regularly (*quale cale*, *guerra gherra*).

* A lingual map of the island of Sardinia is given by Giov. Spano in his *Ortografia sarda nazionale*. Cagliari, 1840.

In the Latin *ct* and *pt* the *c* or *p* is not assimilated, though pronounced so as to be scarcely audible (*factu*, *inscriptu*). Initial *v* again often passes into *b*, and the latter consonant may sometimes represent a vowel (*escire bessire*, *uccidere bocchire*). In the initial element the harder or softer pronunciation of most consonants depends on whether a vowel precedes or a consonant. The softening of the medial tenuis follows nearly the same rules as in Upper-Italy. In one particular Sardinia is quite independant, namely, that it preserves the Latin desinences in *s* and *t* (*longas*, *virtudes*, *duos*, *corpus*, *finit*, *finiant*).

From the Lower-Italian, and especially the Sardinian dialects we find a steppingstone to those of the North in the Genoese. Here the full desinences *e*, *o*, are still preserved (*verde*, *bravo*, *sotto*, yet we find *giardin*, &c.). *Fi* sometimes becomes *sci* (*fiore sciù*, Sic. *sciuri*). Palatal *c* becomes *ç* or else *x* = Fr. *j* (*certo çerto*, *vicino vexin*, though with *ceppo seppo*, &c.). Palatal *g* is variously represented (*giorno*, *lunxi*, *Zena* for *Genova*). But *chi*, *ghi*, begin already to be changed in Lombard guise to *ci*, *gi* (*chiappare ciappà*, *ghianda gianda*); *pi* in like manner becomes *ci*, *piangere*, *cianze*. For *z* we mostly find *ç* or *s* (*paciença*, *bellessa*, *mezo*). *R* is frequently ejected (*bruciare bruxà*, *scrivere scrive*, *cucire cuxi*, *onore*, *onò*, *opere opee*); *eu* and *u* begin to have their French sound; *ae* = *ai* French; the nasal *n* is also encountered. *Gli* gets pronounced as *gi* (*figlio figgio*), as is also the case on the Adriatic coast, at Venice. — Of the remaining Upper-Italian dialects we need here only occupy ourselves with three of the most important, namely the Piedmontese, the Milanese and the Venetian. The Piedmontese often replaces *e* by *ei*, *o* by *eu* or *ou* = the French *eu* or *ou* (*stella steila*, *piovare pieuve*, *sudore sudour*); *ie* generally becomes *e*, as *uo* becomes *eu* (*piè pè*, *uomo om*, *vuole veul*, *cuore cœur*); *u* is pronounced as in French; the vowel desinences in *e* and *o* are dropped, except when *e* is the sign of the plural.* *Gli* becomes *j* or is dropped

* In consequence of this Upper-Italian apocope palatal sounds often terminate a word, in which position they are still written by editors

(*paglia paja, pigliare piè*. *Chi* and *ghi* are changed into palatals (*chiesa cesa, unghia ongia*), while *pi* and *fi* remain unaltered. *Ci, ce* fluctuate between *c'* and *s* (*certo cert, facile facil, città sità, piacere piasi*); *cci, sci* become *s* (*luccio lus, fascia fassa*). Similarly *gi, ge* fluctuate between *g'* and *s*; *ggi* however remains palatal (*gente gent, ragione rason, pertugio pertus, oggi ogi, raggio rag*). *Z* in like manner becomes *s*, so that this consonant, which is sometimes pronounced hard and sometimes soft, becomes a very important one (*garzone garsoun, piazza plassa*). A *tenuis* in the middle of a word easily passes into a *media*, or is altogether ejected; *r* also vanishes in this position (*comprare cumprè, spendere spende, danaro danè*). Of a peculiar nasal *n* we shall speak hereafter in our second section. — The Milanese dialect treats the vowels nearly as the Piedmontese: to the Italian diphthong *ie* corresponds a simple *e*, to *uo* a simple *o* or else *œu* (pron. *ô*); even *o* is often represented by the latter equivalent (*fiera fera, buono bonn, cuore cœur, piovere piœuv, gobbo gœub*); *u* is pronounced *û*; the final vowels *e* and *o* are dropped; in Bolognese this may even happen to final *a*, as in *malati* for *malattia*. *Gli* fares as in Piedmont (*canaglia canaja, briglia bria*); so also *chi, ghi, pi, fi* (*chiave ciav, ghiazzo giaz*). *Ci* sometimes remains palatal, and sometimes becomes *s* or *z* or even *sci* (*cento cent, cena zenna, cigno zign, dolce dolz, cerchio serch, vicino vesin, ceppo scepp*); *cci* becomes *zz* and *sci* (*braccio brazz, feccia fescia, luccio lusc*), *sci* becomes *ss* (*cuscinò cossin, crescere cress*). *Gi* fares as in Piedmontese, whereas *ggi* is often represented by *sgi* with a soft sibilant (*ruggine rusgen, legge les*). *Z* sometimes remains, and sometimes becomes *sci* (*grazia, mezz, zampa sciampa, cantazzure cantascià*). A *tenuis* in the middle of a word may often be

just as if the final vowel were preserved; thus we have *nocc, lusc, legg* to be pronounced like *nocc-e, lusc-io, legg-e* with mute final vowels. The guttural sounds are distinguished by adding an *h* (*cuch, læugh*). Biondelli has adopted for the palatals the Slavonic signs *č, ě, š* (= Fr. *ch*), *ž* (= Fr. *j*); and the expedient is much to be commended for any work on pronunciation, but may be neglected in the present treatise in consideration of the scarcity of the occasions to which it could be applied.

softened into a media; a media may be ejected (*catena cadenna, prato praa, giuocare giugà, capra cavra, codaccia codascia*). *R* in the last syllable often vanishes (*cantà, intend, finì, lavò* for *lavoro*). Final *n* becomes nasal. The following are peculiar characteristics; *l* vanishes in the same way as *r* (*figliuolo fæu, fagiuolo fasæu*); *tt* for Latin *ct* is replaced by the hard palatal (*latte lacc, even freddo becomes frecc, so in Bergamaschian gatti gacc, nudo nucc*). *V* is often prefixed to an initial vowel, as *b* is in Sardinian (*essere vess, ora vora, otto vott, uno vun*).

The Venetian differs from the Lombardian in some important characteristics, but mainly by its superior softness. The diphthongs *ie* and *uo* mostly return to the form of the simple vowels *e* and *o* (*sero, bono, core*); the vowel desinences do not vanish; *u* has its genuine sound and not that of *ü*. *Gli* takes the palatal sound *ǵ*, which the simple *j* often admits likewise (*aglio agio, boja bogia, but figliuolo fiol*). *Chi, ghi* are often pronounced as in Milanese (*chiodo ciodo, ghianda gianda*). The initial *ci* remains, the medial becomes *s* or *z*, as *cci* becomes *zz* (*cima, cimice cimese, bacio baso, bruciare brusare, braccio braccio*); *sci* becomes *ss* (*biscia bissa*). Palatal *g* is pronounced *z*, and this is the true characteristic of the dialect (*gente zente, giorno zorno, maggiore mazore*). *Z* initial is sometimes changed into *ć* (*zecca ceca; but still finezza, ragazzo*). The softening and elimination of the consonants is very extensive (*rete rede, nipote nevodo, ferito ferio, sudare suar, fuoco fogo, lupo lovo, sapore saore, signore sior*). *R* however holds its ground as in the written language. It may be further remarked that initial *v* sometimes suffers aphæresis, as in Sicilian *voce ose, volatica oladega*.

The ingredients of the dialects, here as in other countries, do not exactly correspond to those of the written language; the latter favored Latin roots, and gave up to the former a multitude of obscure and foreign elements. Of these a few only can be traced to other languages. In Neapolitan, for instance, we may naturally suspect more Greek words than in Italian. From this source Galiani derives, among others, *apolo* soft (*ἄπαλος*), *cria* atom (*κρί*), *crisuommolo* apricot (*χρυσός*).

and βόλος, better χρυσόμηλον), *jenimma* race (γέννημα), *sarchiopo* piece of flesh (σαρκίον), *zimmaro* he-goat (χίμαρος). He further notices a few Arabic words. Of Spanish there are many as *alcanzare*, *tonto*, *tosino*, *zafio*, *zote* (*azote*). — The Sicilian dictionary would appear to comprise a greater number of foreign elements. There is here no lack of Greek words, as, according to Pasqualino *caloma* rope (κάλως), *gangama* fisher's net (γάγγαμον), *nichiari* to provoke (νείκεῖν), *spanu*, rare (σπάνος), *spinnare*, to long for (πενᾶν).

So likewise the dominion of the Normans bequeathed many French words to Sicily like *acchettu* (*haquet*), *fumeri* (*fumier*), *gai* (*geai*), *pirciari* (*percer*), *preggiu* (*pleige*), *spangu* (*empan*). With what zeal this nation strove to diffuse its own language in Italy has been noticed by William the Apulian, see *Hist. de li Normant*, published by Champollion, p. 93. — A remarkable vocabulary, and worthy of deeper investigation is the Sardinian, which is one of the obscurest possible, and might be traceable to the most various languages. It is known that the oldest inhabitants of the island were in part of the Iberian race, that Phœnicians and Carthaginians had settled there before the time of the Roman supremacy, which was established in the 3^d century after Christ, and that after them Vandals, Greeks and Arabs sojourned in the land, which at length fell under the dominion of Aragon. The præ-Roman languages may very well have been nearly rooted out here as on the mainland; at any rate W. von Humboldt (*Hispaniens Urbewohner*, p. 168), was unable to discover any elements of Iberian, that is of Basque, in modern Sardinia. A little Arabic may be discoverable, but Spanish and Catalanian elements are often encountered. That this very isolated idiom has not very closely followed the common rules of Romanesque diction, is shown by the two words *sciri* (Lat. *scire*) and *nai*, pres. *naru* (Lat. *narrare*), which have come into use for *sapere* and *dicere*. Still more decided than in Sardinia appears to have been the adulteration of the language in Upper-Italy, and especially between the Po and the Alps. The Germanic elements that have penetrated it are easily recognised. Of this kind are *baita* cottage, dwelling (O. H. G. *baitôn*,

Eng. *abode*), *boga fetter* (*boga bracelet*), *bron* = *puteus* (*brunno*), *brovâ sbrojà* to cook (*brüezen*), *bul ruffian*, *braggard* (*buhle*); *caragnâ* to complain (*karôn*, comp. *sparagnare* from *sparôn*), *fesa peel* (*fesa husk*), *fiap faded* (*flapp*), *fos craving* (*fun*s ready, desirous), *friâ* (*friede*), *gabeurr* rude fellow (*gabûro* = *rusticus*), *gamina plot* (*gameini* = *participatio*), *gast* beloved one (*gast*), *gheine* hunger (*geinôn* to gape), *gherb* = *acidus* (*herb*), *grâ* hoary one (*grâ* = *canus*), *grezâ* to urge (? *gareizen*); *grinta* scowl (*grimmida*), *grit* discontented (? *grit* covetousness), *gudazz* godfather (*gotti*), *letta* river-mud (*letto* = *argilla*), *magone* crow of a bird (*mago*), *meisasc* erysipelas (*meisa* = *variola*), *molta* slime (*molta* earth, dust), *piô* = *aratrum* (*pflug*, *plug*), *piolett* small ax (*pial*), *piorl* pitcher (*piral* = *urna*), *ramf* = *spasmus* (*rampf*), *sciovera* (*zuber*), *scodâ* (*schaukeln*), *scoss* (*schoosz*), *slippâ* to slip (*slipfen*), *smessor* = *cultellus* (*messer*), *stip* steep road (comp. A. S. *steap*, Eng. *steep*), *storâ* = *turbare* (*stôran*), *stosâ* to stamp (*stôzan*), *tortor* (*trihitari*), *trucca* coffer (*trucha truhe*), *tuôn* = *columba* (*tûba*, also *Gris.*), *zartig* (*zart*), *zata* (*tatze*), *zigrâ* a kind of cheese (*ziger*), *zin* = *porcus* (*swin*), *zingâ* (*swingan*), and many others. Three copious comparative vocabularies of Upper-Italian and for the most part obscure words, with etymological suggestions, are furnished by Biondelli, p. 57—87, 246—294, 558—577.

No where in Europe have any dialects been enriched with such a copious literature as in Italy, a fact which may readily be comprehended from what we have already remarked upon their use. This literature comprises not only a mass of entertaining works in prose and poetry, but also philosophical inquiries, especially dictionaries, in which the gaps that at present remain will be doubtless filled up at no distant period. Our lingual specimens go back as far as the sixteenth century; several dialects, however, can boast still more ancient monuments of great value for linguistic science. Thus in the Neapolitan, which boasts of a peculiarly extensive literature (see *Galiani del dialetto napol.* p. 49—193), besides a poem by Ciullo d'Alcamo, which was noted by so ancient an author as Dante, and referred by Tiraboschi to the end of the 12th

century (perhaps too high a date), we have fragments from the journals of Matteo Spinello 1250 (Murat. *Scriptores* VII. p. 1064 et seq.). The rhyming chronicle by Antonio di Boezio of Aquila belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century (Murat. *Antiq.* VI. 711). Sardinian documents of the early dates of 1153, 1170 and 1182 have been printed (Murat. *Ant.* II. p. 1054, 1051, 1059, comp. Spano *Ortografia sarda*, II. 85 et seq.). We have Genoese historical poems of the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century (*Archivio stor. ital. append. num.* 18). * A Bergamaschian poem, *Il Decalogo*, carries us back to the middle of the 13th century (see it in Biondelli, p. 673). A beautiful Milanese memorial of Dante's time, and of a very peculiar character, is the *Vulgaria* of Bonvesin dalla Riva (ed. Bekker, Berl. 1850, 1851). There is also a Venetian poem preserved of the 13th century (a complaint respecting the husbands who were dragged from their homes with the Crusaders), which already represents very distinctly the character of this dialect (see *Raccolta di poes. venez.* 1845, p. 1). A far more important memorial of the same dialect is the unprinted narrative of the travels of Marco Polo. Dictionaries begin early to appear, e. g. a Veneto-German one of 1424 (noticed by Ziemann sub voce *snecke*); a Milanese of 1489 (Biondelli, p. 91); an unprinted Sicilian one of 1519 (according to Pasqualino); a Bergamaschian of 1565 (Biondelli, p. 36); and a Bolognese of 1479 (Ebert II. 1063). Through these ancient authorities we are enabled to trace with confidence the progress of the development of each particular dialect. In this view Galiani says of Spinello's Journals, "sono in napoletano purissimo, ed è mirabile che in tanti secoli abbia il dialetto nostro sofferta così poca mutazione che è quasi imperceptibile."

* Much older than the above, and perhaps belonging to the end of the 12th century, is a *Canzone* of the Troubadour Rambant of Vaqueira written half in this dialect, half in Provençal, *Parn. occ.* p. 75.

II. Wallachian Jurisdiction.

Towards the south-east of Europe, on both banks of the lower Danube, we find more than three millions of persons speaking a language, which by its grammatical structure as well as its material components declares itself sprung from the Latin.* However much the Wallachian language has been adulterated and barbarized, we are impelled not only by its external position (seeing that within a large portion of its jurisdiction it is recognised to be the language of a state, a church and a literature), but also by many intrinsic tokens of its antiquity, to yield it a place among the Romance languages. We place it next after the Italian, with which it most immediately connects itself by manifold traits of resemblance. The name Wallachian (Germ. *Walache*) is foreign (Serb. *Wla*, Hung. *Oláh*), and in all probability of German origin, that is, equivalent to *Wälsch***; the people call themselves Romans (*Romuni*) and their language Roman (*Romunie*). The modern jurisdiction of this language comprises Wallachia and Moldavia, with a considerable portion of Transylvania and adjacent strips of Hungary and Bessarabia; but it is also here and there heard over a broad streak on the right bank of the Danube, through ancient Thrace and Macedonia as far as Thessaly. It is divided according to the course of this river into two principal dialects, the Northern and

* Of a different opinion is Rapp (*Gramm.* II. 2. 157), who endeavours to exclude it from this category, but on what grounds? "Because we understand by Romance languages every mixture of Romance and German elements." But remove the German element from Spanish, and it will remain a Romance language as much as ever. The best thing I have met with about the Wallachian language, is a review by Kopitar in the *Wiener Jahrb.* N. 46, from which I have borrowed most of the historical particulars here furnished. Beyond this I must principally refer to Albert Schott's instructive introduction to his and Arthur Schott's *Walachische Märchen*, Stuttg. and Tübingen, 1845.

** See, for instance, on this subject Schmeller's *Bair. Wb.* IV. 70, J. Grimm in Schmidt's *Zeitschrift für Geschichte* III. 257, and Pott in the *Allgemeine Monatsschrift* für 1852, p. 953.

Southern, or the Daco-Roumanian and Macedono-Roumanian. The former passes for being less adulterated, and possesses more literary culture; the latter has received more foreign accessions, especially Albanian, and, above all, many more Greek, but fewer Slavonian elements; it has remained a mere popular dialect.* It is only the former language to which we shall refer by the term Wallachian. In the Wallachian territory, not less than in that of the Italian language, linguistic science has many difficulties to encounter. Languages of the most different stocks, known and unknown, have here flowed together and expelled one another; and for all this the Daco-Roumanian, if we may trust the *Ofen* dictionary, has remained very poor.

The most ancient population of Dacia was of Thracian origin, and its language, as has been presumed, closely related to the Illyrian; the inhabitants of Eastern Dacia were Goths, those of Western Dacia *Daci* proper. The Romans (having subdued Illyria A. C. 219, and Mœsia A. C. 30), the emperor Trajan added Dacia to the provinces of the empire A. D. 107. "Trajanus, victa Dacia, ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas." Eutrop., 8. 3. At this time, however, the Thracian had mostly been forced to yield to a Sarmatian population which had been pressing upon them, namely the Jazyges, from the East (Niebuhr's *kleine Schriften* I. 376, 393). The colonies from that time introduced had the effect of Romanizing the native population as in other places**, but the process can hardly have been so completely performed as it was in the Western provinces, for in little more than a hundred and fifty years (A. D. 272) the emperor Aurelianus was obliged to give up Dacia to the Goths, at which time a portion of the inhabitants was removed to Mœsia. Towards the end of the fifth century (489), the Bulgarians, a Tataric, but Slavonized people, began their predatory irruptions into Dacia

* On the origin of this state of things see A. Schott, p. 48.

** The Roman military institutions have left some notable traces in Wallachia; the notion of *old* is directly expressed by *betrun* (*veteranus*), and that of comradé by *fartat* (I think from *fœderatus*).

and Mœsia; at the time they actually settled in Mœsia, they found there Slavonic colonies that had anticipated them; eighty years afterwards there was already a Slavonic province (Slavinia) within Macedonia; ultimately the Wallachian domain was partly environed and partly occupied by people of this stock.

This enormous developement of new populations is most perfectly reflected in the *lingua rustica* of the extreme eastern branch. It has scarcely remained Latin in half its elements. We might here, seeing that the Wallachian has come but little in contact with the sister languages, and has been left to work out its own developement, have expected to find in it a good number of Latin words unknown to them; but such a view would be a mistaken one, their number is very small indeed; *adauge* (*adaugere*), *cade* (*cadus* Gr. *κάδος*, also Slav., and Hung. *kad*), *gianę* (*gena*), *hanu* (*fanum*), *linge* (*lingere*), *ninge* (*ningere*), *nunte* (*nuptus*), *rudę* subst. (*rudis*, Illyr. *rud*), *sau* (*seu*), *ud* (*udus*), *vitreg* (*vitricus*) Lex. Bud., *vorbe* (*verbum*), &c. On the other hand we miss the most usual words, e. g. substantives like *pater*, *mater*, *cor*, *pes*, *vita*, *vox*; adjectives like *brevis*, *durus*, *dignus*, *firmus*, *levis*, *paucus*, *solus*, *verus*; and verbs like *amare*, *debere*, *mittere* (except in compounds), *solere*, *sperare*, &c. The roots of the other half must be sought in Slavonic, Albanian, Greek, German, Hungarian, Turkish and other languages. The letter *B* of the Ofen lexicon includes only 42 Latin with about 105 foreign words, a disproportion, however, which is not encountered under all the remaining letters. A nearer examination of the recognisable foreign elements impresses upon us a conviction that the most important of them is the Slavonic, and this in spite of the views inculcated by grammarians anxious to prove the purely Latin origin of their dialect. The list of words of this class under the letter *B* is nearly as follows; *babe* dim. of mother (Serb. *bába*), *balę* saliva (*bale*), *băleę* dung (*bălega*), *basnę* fable (Slov. *basn'*), *beli* to flay (Bulg. *bélè* to pare), *bernę* a beam (Serb. *bruno*), *bęsca* especially (*băška*), *bęsnę* darkness (Russ. *bezăna* abyss), *bętuę* craw of a fowl (Serb. *bátak* hip of same), *bitang* vagabond (*bitânzenje*), *blasnę* bung-

ling (*blésan* blockhead), *blid* dish (O. Slav. *bljodo*), *bob* bean (Serb. *bób*), *bojariu* nobleman (*boljar* from *bolji* better), *bogat* rich (*bógat*), *boaleş* sickness (*ból* pain), *bold* prickle (*bódlja*), *bostan* gourd (*bóstan* garden of melons), *brasde* furrow (*brazda*), *brod* ford (*bród*), *buigui* to evade (*buitzanje*), *bujac* wild (*bûjan* stormy), *bunde* fur (*bûnda*); connoisseurs will readily remark others. In Albanian we find *báltë* pool (*baljte*), *beleà* plague (*belja* calamity; comp. Serb. *bělâj*), *bëcan* grocer (Alb., Turk., Serb. *bakal*), *bizui* to entrust (*bessóig* to believe), *brad* a fir (*breth*), *briciu a rasor* (brisk Serb. *brijác*), *broasce* toad (*breške* tortoise), *bucurà* to be glad (*bukuróig* to beautify), *buzë* lip (Alb. likewise). As for the following words which are found in Hungarian; *bálmos* cake of flour (*bálmos*), *barabóju* basket (*barabolj*), *beance* flint (*beka kő*), *benui* to bewail (*banni*), *bicáo* horseshoe (*ló békó*), *betég* sick (*betég*), *birëu* judge (*biró*), *birui* to conquer, possess (*birni*), *boboane* magic (*babo nasag*), *boncei* to roar (*bőgni*), *bórzoş* bristly (*borzas*), *bucni* to push (*bőkní*), *burujáne* the plant "lion's mouth" (*burian* weed), *buşdugán* club (*buzogany*), the very mixed character of the language makes it doubtful whether they were thence adopted; several of them are also Slavonic. The Greek element is more largely represented than in any of the sister-languages, Italian not excepted. Examples under each letter of the alphabet; *afurisi* excommunicate (*ἀφορίζειν*), *argat* servant (*ἐργάτης*, Serb. *argatin*), *ázim* unleavened (*ἄζυμος*), *beteleu* effeminate man (*βάταλος*), *biós* rich (N. Gr. *πλούσιος*), *bosconi* to enchant (*βασκαίνειν*), *camete* interest (*κάματος* labour), *ceafe* occiput (*κεφαλή*), *celuger* monk called Caloyer (*καλὸς γέρων*), goodly or dear old man, Alb. *calojér*), *ceremide* tile (*κεραμís*), *chivót* wardrobe (*κιβωτός*), *colibë* hut (*καλύβη*), *dáscal* (διδάσκαλος), *dèce* anger (*δίκη*), *drom* way (*δρόμος*), *dusman* enemy (*δυσμενής*), *eftin* cheap (*εὐτελής*), *fármecë* enchantment (*φάρμακον*), *fleure* chatterbox (*φλύαρος*), *háine* garment (*χλαίνη*), *haleu* net (*ἁλιεύειν* to fish), *herezi* to present (*χαρίζεσθαι*), *icoane* image (*εἰκών*), *lipse* deficiency (*λείψις*), *mac* poppy (*μηκών*), *meruris* to witness (*μαρτυρεῖν*), *miel* sheep (*μῆλον*), *plasmë* creature (*πλάσμα*), *procopsi* to advance (*προκόπτειν*), *prónie* foresight (*πρόνοια*), *scafe* drinking vessel, scale of balance (*σκαφή*),

seatre tent (ἐξέδρα), *trufie* haughtiness (τρυφή), *zugrav* painter (ζωγράφος). A part of these words is also, however, found in Slavonic dialects. The German element, in spite of the proximity of the Goths, has remained unimportant; some of it, indeed, seems but recently to have penetrated the country from Austria and Transylvania. Wallachian words which have relatives in German, but also, it must be owned, in other languages, are such as the following *bande* troop (*bande*, Hung. *banda*), *barde* ax (O. H. G. *barta*), *bordeain* hut (*bord*), *botz* ball of string (*butzen*), *dost* = *origanum* (*dosto*), *flusturà* to blow (? *flüstern*), *gard* hedge (*gards* Goth., Alb. *garde*), *groape* = *fossa* (Goth. *grôba*, Alb. *gropë*, Serb. *grob*), *gynsçe*, *gusçe* = *anser* (*gans*), *lade* = *cista* (*lade* Illyr., Slovak. Hung. *láda*), *latz* (*latte*), *lecui* to heal (Goth. *lêkinôn*, better Sloven. *ljekovati*), *nástur* knot, knob (*nestila* O. H. G.), *pat* = *lectus* (to which *grabatus* does not come to near as Goth. *badi*; comp. also Hung. *pad* bench), *pilde* pattern (O. H. G. *pildi*, Hung., Illyr. *pelda*), *slab* (*slaf*, Serb. *slab*), *smeag* = *gustus* (*gismah*), *stan* rock (*stains* Goth.), *steange* = *pertica* (*stanga*), *sticle* glass (Slov. *styklo* glass, Goth. *stikls* pitcher), *sturc* = *ciconia* (*storch*), *toane* = *cadus* (*tunna*), *varde* watch (*warta*). Several others, such as *bregle* bridle, *darde* arrow, *isbendi* to revenge, *sale* = *aula*, appear to be immediately derived from the Italian *briglia*, *dardo*, *sbandire*, *sala*; others again as *bruncrutz*, *ciuber*, *dantz*, *drot*, *grof*, *háhele*, *harfe*, *mulde*, *obsit*, *plef*, *sine*, *sonçe*, *sure*, *šurtze*, *trouçe* appear to have had their origin in the N. G. *brunnenkresse*, *zuber*, *tanz*, *draht*, *graf*, *hechel*, *harfe*, *mulde*, *abschied*, *blech*, *schiene*, *schinken* (*schunken*), *scheuer*, *schürze*, *trog*. Under favorable circumstances a language can bear the largest admixture without prejudice to its individual character; but the Wallachian, it would appear, had not reached a state of matured consciousness, when the foreign materials began to penetrate it. How deficient it was in principles of assimilation, is evidenced by its all too literal adoption of these materials, Slavonic sounds and combinations like the inchoations *ml* and *mr* being left undisturbed.

The Daco-Roumanian literature began to thrive in 1580, till which time it had been merely ecclesiastical. The Tran-

sylvanian prince Rakoczy first commanded in 1643, that the Wallachians should have the word of God preached to them in their own language. In more recent times some scientific and literary works have appeared in it. Several writers have made it a subject of study, but there is as yet no satisfactory dictionary commencing with Wallachian. The *Lexicon valachico-latino-hungarico-germanicum*, Budæ, 1825, a joint production by several authors, is as yet the most comprehensive work of this kind, but scarcely the most correct. The ancient mediæval records of the country, Slavonic of course, would permit us to trace further back the history of the language, if only from proper names, and would clear up numerous difficulties. The want of them is severely felt by philology.

III. Spanish Jurisdiction.

The earliest inhabitants of Spain were Iberi, perhaps an originally Celtic, but anciently separated race, which did not dwell unmixed except about the Pyrenees and the Southern coast of the peninsula. The Celtiberi sprang up where these Iberi came into contact with the true Celts, as far as we know this race through the Greek and Roman writers. Towards the North the Iberi appear further in part of Aquitania and on the coast of the Mediterranean sea, while in the south they have been settled from time immemorial in the three large islands thereon (see W. von Humboldt's *Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens* 1821). Colonies on the coasts were founded by the Phœnicians, but the widespread dominion of Carthage was subverted by the Romans, who occupied Spain during 600 years, at first in spite of a vehement resistance from the natives, and afterwards in peace; and founded there a new home for their language and literature. The Latinization of the country must in some parts have been a rapid process. Of the Turdetani in the South Strabo tells us that they had exchanged their own for Roman customs, and forgotten their native language. "*Οἱ μέντοι Τουρδετανοὶ τελέως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς σφετέρως ἔτι μεμνημένοι*" (ed. Siebenkees I. p. 404).

How deeply the Latin language had penetrated there in the time of Columella, is shown by the provincialisms which this writer adduces, being such as had already arisen on the foundation of Latin roots in the parlance of the country-people. Nevertheless the Hispanian language is mentioned as a still living one by Cicero; "*similes enim sunt dii, si ea nobis objiciunt, quorum neque scientiam neque interpretationem habeamus, tanquam si Pœni aut Hispani in senatu nostro sine interprete loquerentur*" (De Div. 2. 64). Again Tacitus (Ann. 4. 45) describes how a countryman from among the Termestini spoke on the rack in his native language, "*voce magna, sermone patrio, frustra se interrogari clamitavit*". See on these points Aldrete's learned work *Del origen de la lengua castellana*, fol. 22 b, 30 b, 39 b, 23 b.

This ancient language of the peninsula survives in Basque, as has been acknowledged by Humboldt. The irruptions of Germanic populations began about the commencement of the fifth century: in the sixth and seventh the Southern parts were inhabited by Byzantines; at the beginning of the eighth the Arabs conquered nearly the whole of the peninsula; they were fully subjugated in their turn during the fifteenth.

The dominion or establishment of so many nations on a common soil could not have gone on without a violent commixture of languages. The Spanish language does not belie this fact, which is the principle of its copiousness as well as of its etymological obscurity.* It is only, however, the phonetic system and the vocabulary that evidence it, the formations and inflexions of words have in this sonorous dialect remained thoroughly Romanesque and more Latinlike than even in Italian. The contributions of the different foreign languages are here as elsewhere very unequal. It will be readily anticipated that there is little left of præ-Roman

* According to the calculation of Sarmiento (*Obras postumas*, 107), about six parts in ten of the Spanish language are Latin, one Greek and ecclesiastical, one northern (i. e. Germanic), one oriental, and one made up of American, modern German, French and Italian. This may be about correct, if we consider stocks instead of words. It must not however be forgotten that the various elements are of very different value.

elements. A few of the Iberian expressions that were either adopted or cited by the Romans, are still traceable in the Spanish dictionary, but they are certainly not all found in the popular language. It is only of the popular elements that we can say with certainty that they have passed from the Iberian language into the modern, and that through the Spanish *Romana rustica*, by which they were also communicated to the Latin of literature. We may note, for instance, *ballux* or *balluca* goldsand (see Vossii *Etym.*), *canthus* the rim of a wheel, Gr. *κάνθος*, which according to Quintilianus is Spanish or African (Schneider, I. 211), comp. Sp. *canto*, end or border of a thing; *celia* wheat-beer, Sp. likewise; *cetra* leather-shield, Sp. likewise; *cusculium* kermes grain, Sp. *coscojo*; *dureta* bathing tub or bench, Sp. likewise; *gurdus* stupid, according to Quintilianus and Laberius (see Voss. *Etym.*), Sp. *gordo* meaning thick, comp. It. *grosso*, thick or stupid, Gr. *παχὺς*, fat or stupid; *lancea*, Sp. according to Gellius, according to others Gallic or German now *lanza*; *palacra palacrana*, ingot, Sp. likewise. Furthermore a certain number of Spanish words may with confidence be set down as Basque, see for instance in the *Etym. Wb.* II. b the articles *ademan*, *álabe*, *amapola*, *ángaro*, *ardite*, *balsa*, *burga*, *chamarasca*, *estacha*, *gan-zua*, *garabito*, *garbanza*, *gazuza*, *guijo*, *gurrumina*, *hervero*, *izaga*, *jorgina*, *lelo*, *mandria*, *modorra*, *morcon*, *moron*, *nava*, *oqueruela*, *sarracina*, *socarrar*, *vericueto*, *zaga*, *zahurda*, *zalea*, *zamarro*, *zanahoria*, *zaque*, *zaragüelles*, *zarria*, *zato*, *zirigaña*. In other cases this origin cannot be traced with certainty. Of the Iberian phonetic system, on the other hand, there appear to be scarcely any traces left: see *Etym. Wb.* p. XI. The Greek and German elements have already been considered. Herewith it must further be borne in mind that in Spain the Gothic alphabet was used up to the Council of Leon, 1091, at which date it was rejected. How much influence was exerted upon the Spanish language and customs by the Arabians has been examined by many writers.* The Arabic

* See for instance Hammer, *On the administration of the country during the Caliphate*, Berl. 1835.

elements have been collected by Sousa, in his book *Vestigios da lingua arabica em Portugal*, Lisboa 1789 (new ed. 1830); next by Marina, in his *Memorias de la Academia real de la historia*, tomo 4, both often incorrect; lastly by Hammer quoted in the *Berichten der kais. österreich. Akademie, philos. Classe*, vol. XIV.; the specimens of the latter learned author comprise about 500 appellatives. They almost all betoken sensible objects or scientific conceptions chiefly from the domain of physics, medicine, mathematics, astronomy or music; many relate to civil institutions, especially offices and dignities, or to weights and measures; military institutions are likewise represented. No one word is taken from the domain of mind; it seems as if the relations between the Christians and Mohammedans had been absolutely limited to external intercourse, and had afforded no basis for a cordial understanding, such as had arisen between the Goths and the Romans. Among these Arabic words we find one pronoun *fulano* for *quidam*, and two particles *fata* for *tenuis*, and *oxalá* for *utinam*. We must not include in the Sp. vocabulary the "thieves' language" called *Germania*, notwithstanding that it has been received into dictionaries, because there are a few authors who have not been ashamed of using it. It is, as has been shown in detail by Mayans, *Orig. de la leng. esp.* I. 116, an artificial language, composed in part of old Spanish or antiquated Arabic, in part of foreign elements picked up by a vagrant population; and in part also of good Spanish words with the letters transposed (*pecho chepo*, *bota toba*) or with a new meaning attached.

The Spanish as a popular language does not extend over the whole kingdom; for that of the Northwestern part is Portuguese, that of the East belongs to the Provençal stock; add that Basque is spoken in Biscaya, Guipuzcoa, Alava and part of Navarra.* On the other hand it has acquired an extensive domain in the New World. The name Hispania belonging by right to the entire peninsula, the language has

* Sormiento, p. 94, names as the native seat of the Sp. language Castile, Leon, Estremadura, Andalusia, Aragon, Navarra, and Rioja, excluding Asturias. To these Murcia may be added, Mayans II. 31.

been named after that kingdom in which it was spoken with the greatest purity *lengua castellana* [Castilian]*, and this appellation is still retained by the Academy in their Dictionary and Grammar. The designation *Spanish* language has long, however, been equally current.**

The earliest traces of the Span. language are found in Isidorus, and to these belong many exclusively Spanish as well as many Pan-romanesque words out of the old Romance vocabulary which has been quoted pp. 31—43 as *ala*, *amma*, *astrosus*, *baselus*, *cama*, *campana*, *capa*, *capanna*, *capulum*, *caravela*, *casula*, *cattare*, *ciconia*, *colomellus*, *cortina*, *esca*, *flasca*, *focacius*, *furo*, *gubia*, *incensum*, *insubulum*, *lorandrum*, *mantum*, *milimindrus*, *rasilis*, *salma*, *sarna*, *sarralia*, *taratrum*, *tructa*, *turbiscus*, *turdela*. Others which Isidorus mentions as vulgar or explicitly as Spanish have been already swept away by the stream of time, as *æranis*, a kind of horse, 12. 1, *agna*, a landmeasure ("actum provinciæ Bæticiæ rustici *agnam* vocant") 15. 15; *agrestes* for *argestes* 13. 11; *brancia* for *fauces* 4. 7; *capitilavium*, Palm-Sunday 6. 18; *celio* for *cælum* chisel 20. 4; *francisca* a Frankish weapon, "quas [securas] et Hispani ab usu Francorum per derivationem franciscas vocant", 18. 9; *gauranis* for *equus cervinus* 12. 1; *mustio*, It. *moscione* see p. 40; *pusia* a kind of olives 17. 7; *sinespacio* for *semispacium* halfsword, 18. 6; *tusilla* corrupted from *tonsilla*, 11. 1. Many other words which he brings forward as Latin, but had doubtless adopted from the popular language, have similarly vanished. The *bona fide* monuments of the language run back as far as the middle of the twelfth century. The oldest as yet discovered is a charter, from Aviles in Asturia, of the year 1155, occupying 12 pages octavo (copied in the *Revista*

* According to Mayans Old Castile takes precedence in this respect, and Burgos is the place where the purest pronunciation prevails.

** How came the Spaniard by the appellative *Español* with a suffix originally marking diminutives, and not found elsewhere in names of nations? If the descendants of the ancient *Hispani* had been thus distinguished, *Hispaniscus* would have been a better form than *Hispaniolus*; comp. Pr. *Espanese*, Choix II. 144, O. Fr. *Espanois*. The Basque indeed says with another suffix *Españarra*, the English *Spaniard*.

de Madrid, segunda época, VII. 267, see Ticknor, Hist. Span. Lit. 3. 352). To the same century, and, according to Sanchez's conjecture, to the middle or latter part of it belongs the epic poem of the Cid. In the thirteenth century literary remains multiply; we have Berceo's clever poems, Juan Lorenzo Seguro's romance of *Alexander the Great*, that of *Apollonius of Tyre*, and many smaller pieces, all in verse (see Sanchez *Coleccion de poesias castell. Madr.* 1779—1790, IV; *nuev. ed. por Ochoa, Paris* 1843, with many additions by P. J. Pidal; the *Fuero juzgo*, a Visigothic code translated into the Spanish language (the best edition is of Madrid 1815); the *Siete partidas* of king Alfonso X. (Madr. 1829, also 1847). Here we must dwell a moment on the merits of this king, who by means of his own works, as well as by the translations which he caused to be executed from Latin into Spanish, endeavored to give a stimulus to the national literature. At this time ancient documents begin also to multiply. Of the 14th century we have the Infante Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (ed. Argote de Molina, Madr. 1575; ed. Keller, Stuttg. 1839); the satirical poems of the archpriest Juan Ruiz (in Sanchez's collection), the poem on *Fernan Gonzalez* (transl. Bouterweck p. 155—161); and the poems of Rabbi Santo (Ticknor III. 422—464). These and other works of the three first centuries form the principal source of our knowledge of the old Spanish language; so valuable in both its vocabulary and its grammatical features, in which greater changes have taken place than in Italian.

The national language began to be critically handled in the fifteenth century, which, however, had nearly expired before the appearance of the first Latin and Spanish dictionary by Alonso de Palencia, *El universal vocabulario en latin y romance* 1490; immediately after which appeared the much consulted work of the celebrated scholar Antonio de Lebrija, *Antonii Nebrissensis Lexicon latino-hispanicum et hispanico-latinum, Salam.* 1492. Next followed his *Tratado de gramatica sobre la lengua castellana* of the same year. In the first half of the eighteenth century appeared the first edition of the Academical Dictionary, *Diccionario de la lengua cast. por la real Academia esp., Madr.* 1726—39, VI., and many years later the Grama-

tica de la Academia esp., Madr. 1771. A small etymological dictionary by the well-known philologist Sanchez de las Brozas has been preserved in MS. (Mayans *Vita Franc. Sanctii*, sec. 227), and used by Covarruvias in his etymological *Tesoro de la lengua cast., Madr. 1674.*

Dialects. The historians of the Castilian language have paid little attention to its dialects. Mayans, *Orig. de la lengua esp.* I. 58, II. 31, barely mentions their existence, limiting the differences between them to the pronunciation and a certain number of provincial words. With a few of the more important phenomena in this subject we shall become acquainted in the progress of this work. The dialect of which we are best enabled to form an conception is that of Leon, to which belongs an important monument in the above-mentioned *Poema de Alexandro*; at any rate there is no particular reason why the dialect of the author, who was an Astorgan by birth, should have been any other than that of Leon, comp. Sanchez III. p. 20. If from this dialect we abstract the elements related to the adjacent Gallician, there remains little that might not just as well have been found in old Castilian works, such as the *Cid*. Dialectic admixtures may likewise be traced in other writers of this period, e. g., in Berceo, whose language, as he was a native of Rioja, may have exhibited some Limosin influence.

IV. Portuguese Jurisdiction.

The Portuguese language is nearly akin to the Castilian, but does not stand in the relation of a dialect to it; its independence being indeed vindicated by important grammatical peculiarities, though the sources of the two languages are similar, and their vocabularies agree very extensively.* It must be remarked, however, that the native of Portugal uses

* Delius in the *Rom. Sprachfam.* p. 31 makes the not unimportant observation that the Portuguese in general retains a more antique shape than the Spanish.

far fewer Basque words than the Spaniard, either because the Iberians in Lusitania were less numerous, or because these elements, when they were subsequently diffused from the Basque territory, chanced to find their way to Castile, but not as far as Portugal (*Etym. Wb.* p. 14). We must also note a larger infusion of French, which is not unreasonably ascribed to the numerous retinue of Count Henry of Burgundy. Commercial intercourse, moreover, introduced many northern words into Portugal, which are unknown to the sister language, as *britar* to break (A. S. *brittian*), *doudo*, Eng. (*dolt*), *pino* (Eng. *pin*).

The jurisdiction of the language includes both Portugal and Gallicia. Portuguese and Gallician (*galliziano*, *gallego*) are, as has been acknowledged by native men of learning and in fact proved by the archives of the two countries, one and the same language (comp. Dieze on Velasquez, p. 96). And if we examine the few monuments of antiquity that have reached us that can be called Gallician, i. e. the *cantigas* of the Castilian king Alfonso X., who spent part of his younger days in Gallicia, and the songs of the later author Macias, we shall find but few forms of any importance which would not be also presented by the old Portuguese dialect. Nevertheless the idiom of the province, since it was united to Spain, must gradually have deviated from its antique form.

The only name of the language which has remained current is Portuguese, *portuguesa*, which has nowhere been much encroached upon by the proposed terms *hespanhola* or *lusitana*. *

The first samples of Portuguese appear somewhat later than those of Spanish. If we set aside a few refashionings of ancient songs and other spurious productions, which are referred to the 12th century or further back (comp. Bellermann *Die Liederbücher der Portug.*, Berlin 1840, and Ferdin. Wolf in the *Hall. Lit.-Zeitung*. 1843, num. 87), then the most pro-

* *Portuguez* is syncopated from *portugalez*, like *esquentar* from *excalentar*. The uncontracted form was retained in the kindred languages. O. Sp. *portogales* (*Cid* 2989), Pr., Fr. in Montaigne *portugalois*, M. Lat. *portugalensis*, Yepes 4. 10, A. D. 922.

minent literature is here again diplomatic. The most ancient purely Portuguese document is dated 1230 = 1192; see Ribeiro *Observações para servirem de memorias ao sistema da diplomatica portugueza*. Lisboa 1798, I. p. 91, in which we find a catalogue of the old documents.* The first production of a veritably literary kind is a collection of 260 songs, probably belonging to the second half of the 13th century, *Fragmentos de hum cancioneiro inedito na livraria do collegio dos nobres de Lisboa*, Paris 1823. To the same period belong the Gallician *Cancioneiro* of Alfonso X. of Spain (reigned 1252—1281), containing more than 400 *cantigas* to the praise of the Virgin, all unprinted, except in a few scattered specimens. To the end of this century and the beginning of the next belong also the poetical labors of king Dionysius (1279—1325), who effected for the literature of his native country something like what the Castilian Alfonso did for the Spanish; "*Cancioneiro d'El Rei D. Diniz*", por Caetano Lopes de Moura, Paris 1847." To the fourteenth century belongs the prose *Nobiliario* of his natural son Pedro, Roma 1640, as well as the few songs which have been preserved to us of Pedro the First's (1357 to 1367), printed in the *Cancioneiro geral*, Stuttgart 1846—1852, which chiefly comprehends poems of the 15th century. The prose archives of the language are now growing more and more accessible through the exertions of the Academy at Lisbon; the *Colecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*, cet., has already brought to the light some important chronicles, as well as a collection of provincial institutes (*foros*), of which the compilation in Portuguese dates from the 13th or 14th century.**

The critical study of the language has been chiefly pro-

* Among the Latin documents has been placed Alboacem's ordinance of the year 734; to which great importance has been attached as a record of the progress of the language (Hervas, *Catalogo delle lingue*, p. 195; Raynouard *Chotx* I. p. XI, A. W. Schlegel *Observ.*); see Lemke's *Gesch. von Spanien*, I. 314.

** In the *Foros de Gravão* (Colecç. t. V., p. 367—97) we find the annotation "eu Jhoão ffernandiz Tabellion dalcaçar trasladei este foro . . en era 1305" (1267).

ductive in the compilation of large dictionaries. Among these we have *Vocabolario portuguez e latino, por D. Rafael Bluteau, Lisb. 1712—1721, VIII. fol. (reformado por Moraes Silva Lisb. 1789. II. 4); Diccionario da lingoa port. publ. pela Academia cet. Lisb. 1793, fol.;* of the last, however, the first volume only has appeared, comprising the letter *A*. A real treasure is possessed by the nation in the Dictionary of the early language produced by Santa Rosa, *Elucidario das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antiguamente se usarão, etc. Lisboa II. 1798*. To this is added a history of the Portuguese language.

V. Provençal Jurisdiction.

The two Romance dialects of Gaul, the French and the Provençal, have been produced from nearly the same materials; and the characteristics which the former possesses in common with the Spanish and Italian are not of a nature to separate it from its neighbour, to which it bears a very intimate relationship. It is conceivable that within certain limitations the same Romance language reigned at one time over the whole of Gaul. This language preserved itself with more purity in the Provençal than in the French, which from somewhere about the ninth century has been separating itself thence by a gradual attrition of its forms. Of this common language of France it was at one time thought that a specimen was preserved in the oaths, A. D. 842; but in this document a prevailing bias towards the French dialect is very decidedly manifested, as for instance in the non-Provençal form *cosa* for *causa*; comp. *Poésie des Troubadours*, p. 322.

The true native seat of the Provençal idiom is in the South of France. The line, which separates the two idioms, is drawn, according to Sauvage, through Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Auvergne, Limousin, Périgord and Saintonge, see *Dictionnaire languedocien*, éd. 1., p. 217; other writers define it somewhat differently. Poitou, though the home of the ancient troubadours, does not

belong to this domain.* Outside France it extends over the East of Spain, i. e., over Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Isles (Bastero, *Crusca* prov. p. 20). The consciousness of this lingual connexion was so lively, that a Troubadour divides the population of France into Catalans and Frenchmen, including among the former the people of Gascony, Provence, Limousin, Auvergne and Viennois, see *Choix* IV. 38. Dante, to whom the Castilian dialect remained unknown, places the principal seat of the language of Oc in Spain; "alii oc, alii oil, alii si affirmando loquuntur, ut puta Hispani, Franci et Latini" (de vulg. eloq. 1. 8). Furthermore Aragon also seems to have belonged to the domain of this language, from which, however, it was separated at a later period. Mayans says of the archives of this province, "los instrumentos cuanto mas antiguos, mas lemosinos son", 1. 54. We must herein likewise include Savoy and a small area in Switzerland (Geneva, Lausanne, and perhaps the south of the Vallais). A specific name for a language thus situated between the French, Spanish and Italian jurisdictions was hard to find, a comprehensive geographical term being certainly wanting; there was therefore nothing to be done but to take a name from a single division of this area. Thus, it was called, to pass by the predominating name "*romana*", *la lenga proensal*, *Choix* V. 147, *lo proenzal*, *Lex. Rom.* I. 573, or even *lo proensalés*, *ibid.*, *lo vulgar provenzal* *Gram. rom.* ** p. 46, which are merely passages of more recent date. From the language they spoke the population was also called *Provinciales* or *Francigenæ* (*Poés. des Troub.* p. 7); the French were called *Franchimans* in a German form even in Sauvage's time.

The "Provençal" language and poetry are mentioned in the same period by Dante and by the Portuguese king Dionysius. From another province was also taken, but subsequently, the expression "limousin" or *lemosi*; which is found, for instance, in the grammarian Vidal, as also in the *Leys d'amors*, which

* Hence P. Cardinal says, *Choix* V. 304.

"Mas ieu non ai lengua friza ni breta,
Ni non parli norman ni peitavi."

** Publié par Guessard.

last work mentions the language of the Limousin as particularly pure; "enayssi parlo cil que han bona et adreyta parladura e bon lengatge coma en Lemozi et en la major partida l'Alvernhe" II. 212; which amounts to an assertion that people conjugated and declined better there than anywhere; see II. 402. We find this name, which is already used by J. Febrer (en bon llemosí est, 151), applied afterwards in Spain not only to the Provençal, but also, and even preferentially, to the Valencio-Catalonian dialect. A large part of the South of France was called from the affirmative of this language in O. Fr. *la Languedoc*, in R. Muntaner *la Llenguadoch*, M. Lat. *Occitania*, whence the Fr. adj. *occitanien*, by which recent writers have designated the Provençal language collectively; it may better be limited to the Occitanian dialect.

Our specimens of the language ascend to about the year 960, beginning with a few isolated sentences in Latin documents; see *Choix* II. p. 40, et seq. A continuous specimen, probably dating from the middle of the 10th century, is found in a manuscript of the 11th, comprising the Lay of Boethius, a fragment of 257 verses, edited by Raynouard, *Choix* II., p. 4—39. To the same century belongs a half-Provençal work, the "Passion of Christ", which, together with the life of St. Leodegarius, will be further noticed by us in connexion with the French language. To the eleventh century belong some smaller pieces, which have been edited by Raynouard, *Choix* II. The most productive sources of information on this language are, however, to be sought for in the poetic literature of the 12th and 13th centuries, which have now for the most part found an editor.

No one of the Romance languages has been grammatically analysed more early than the Provençal. The labourers in this field had in view the meritorious object of counteracting the negligence of the poets in point of expression and the incipient decline of the language. They afford information which may still be instructive to us. One of their works, namely "la dreyta maniera de trobar" (the right way to write poetry), by Raimon Vidal, is less a grammar than a

grammatical treatise. Its author is doubtless the well-known novella-writer Raimon Vidal of Bezaudun, so called in the *Leys d'amors* where they refer to a statement in his grammar, "segon que ditz En Ramon Vidal de Bezaudú, le lengatges de Lemosí es mays aptes e covenables a trobar", II. 402; he appears to have lived about the middle of the 13th century, as we are rather indeed justified in asserting from his manner than from any positive testimony. He has already been drawn upon by Bastero in the latter's *Crusca provenzale*. The other work, a so called *Donatus Provincialis*, by Uc Faidit, is extant in two editions, a Romance and a Latin, of which the first must be regarded as the original. Both have been edited by Guessard (*Grammaires romanes inédites*, Par. 1840), from two manuscripts in the Laurentian collection, of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth respectively. A comprehensive grammar and *Ars poetica* are comprised in the *Leys d'amors*, or "laws of love", that is, of the poetry of love, enacted by the consistory *del gay saber* at Toulouse, of which a portion that had been completed in 1356, is printed, viz. *las flors del gay saber*; see *Las leys d'amors*, published by Gatien Arnoult, Par. et Toulouse 1841, III. Recent grammars and dictionaries we leave unnoticed.

Dialects. The appearance of a written language in the strictest sense of the term can in the Middle Ages be as little anticipated among the Provençals as among other nations, whose poets had no common focus towards which to direct their activity, but spent their time in continual peregrinations amid the different native and foreign courts. It is true that a purer dialect, based on the principle of a closer approximation to Latin forms than prevailed in the popular dialects, had been employed even before the appearance of the Troubadours; it only became incumbent on the latter to give it a more complete polish, separating the noble from the ignoble elements, and the foreign from the native, and borrowing at the same time from the dialects a multiplicity of grammatical forms, which was fitted to give variety and fluency to their expressions. In this manner developed itself what was called *lo dreig proensal*, *la dreita parladura*, a more select language,

which was limited to no single province, but did not exclude provincial modifications. This was especially the idiom of the lyrical poets, or troubadours proper, whereas something more of a dialectic element was admitted by many epic and dramatic writers, whose locality, however, is rather to be conjectured than ascertained. Of such provincial modifications in various forms of a single word we have, for example, *fer fier*, *deu dieu*, *estiu estieu*, *loc luoc luec*, *lor lur*, *tal tau*, *ren re*, *conselh cosselh*, *chant chan*, *cascun chascun*, *engan enjan*, *fait fach*, and others of the kind which are used in the best collections of poems.* Forms, however, like *laychar* for *laisser*; *cargah* for *cargat*, *amis* for *amics*; *marcé* for *mercé* or even *graiça* for *gracia*, *pleina* for *plena*, transgress the limits of the cultivated language, and before the close of the thirteenth century appear in a few writers only.

The modern dialects of the South of France have certainly developed many peculiar characteristics, which we should in vain seek for in the ancient language of the country; they exhibit, however, no such striking contrasts as the Italian dialects do. To a few of these peculiarities we shall recur in the second division of this work.

As general characteristics, which hardly admit any exceptions, we must first specify; an unaccented *o* or *ou* in the desinence for O. Pr. *a* (*caro*, *bonou*); *ou* commonly standing for Fr. *ou* or *eu* from *o* (*hounour*); *u* sounded as *ü*; final *s*, *t*, *p*, and perhaps *r* and other consonants becoming mute, and thus often omitted in writing *toujour*, *verità*, *par(t)*, *tro(p)*, *aimá*, *vené*, *vesé* = O. Fr. *vezer*. The French orthography is

* "Paraulas i a, don hom pot far doas rimas aisi con *leal*, *talen*, *vilan*, *chanson*, *fn*. Et pot hom ben dir, qui si vol *liau*, *talan*, *vild*, *chansó*, *fi*." (R. Vidal, p. 82.). The dialectic element in the written language was variable; every writer or reader was allowed to give it a peculiar colouring. Hence the poets distinguish in rhyme between this variable element and the invariable element in the language: no one would easily allow himself to apply corresponding dialectic forms to different forms of rhyme, as e. g. to have in one quatrain the endings *tal*, *vau*, *chivau*, *ostal*, because it was allowable to read *val*, *chival*. The case was somewhat altered when a variable form was supported by an invariable as *vau* by *suau*.

commonly employed as far as is possible. — The phonetic system of the modern Provençal dialect deviates little, except in the above-mentioned general characteristics, from the old language. For instance the unaccented *e* in the desinence is changed by many masculines into *i* (*agi*, *couragi*), nevertheless *capitani* was already O. Pr. The diphthongs are for the most part preserved; but *ai* readily slips into *ei* at Avignon (*eimable eisso*). *Au* often takes the sound of *ou* (*voou* = *vauc*), *parooule choousi*. *Ue* has remained in use at Marseilles (*bouen, jouec, louec*), for which at Avignon we meet *io* and *oua*, the latter also at Toulon (*fio* = *fuec*, *couar* = *cuer*, *nouastre*). *L* is often corrupted into *u* (*gaou* = *gal*, *maou*, *roussignooou, aoutre*), *lh* sinks at Avignon into *y* (*mouye* = *molher*, *payou* = *palha*, *ouriou* = *aurelha*). *N* is admitted in the desinence (*ren, matin, moutoun*). *C* before *a* is sometimes guttural, sometimes palatal (*camín, toucá, chacun, chassá*); *ch* occurs for Latin *ct* as among the ancients (*fach, nuech*); but *lié* = O. Pr. *lieit* in Avignon. Palatal *i* becomes *j* (*miejou*, Lat. *media*). — The dialects of the great province of Languedoc agree pretty closely with the modern Provençal. If in the former *ei* occurs for *ai*, it also occurs at Toulouse for *oi* (*neyt, peys* = *noit, pois*); in Montpellier *io* is pronounced as at Avignon for *ue* or *uo* (*fio* = *fuec* or *fuoc*), and similarly *i* is in various districts inserted before a vowel or a diphthong (*uelh iuel, luenh liuen, coïssa kiueisso, bou biou*). The change of *l* into *u* is not carried throughout; we read *mal, chival, capel*, and likewise *mau, lensou, aubre, caouquo* = Fr. *quelque*. Final *n* is as variously treated; in Montpellier, for instance, it is preserved (*bon, vin, courdoun*), in Toulouse it is dropped (*be, fi, fayssou*). Final *r* is mute, sometimes even in words not infinitives (*flor flou, calor calou*). *Ca* is but rarely superseded by *cha* (*camí, cercá, fachá* = Fr. *fâcher*). Latin *ct* and *di* become at Montpellier *ch* (*fach, gaouch* = *gaudium*); at Narbonne *ct* becomes *it* (*fait, leit*). In Alby *g'* or *j* is expressed by *ds* (*gentilha dzantio, jorn dsorn*). In a great part of the province, i. e., at Toulouse and Montpellier, *v* is hardened into *b* (*vida bido, vos bous*), as also in the dialect of Quercy, which differs little from the Occitanian.

The dialect of the Limousin no longer deserves the praise, which was formerly bestowed upon it so lavishly. An upper and under Limousin dialect are distinguished. The latter has got into a bad way of confounding unaccented *a* with *o*, which the other dialects only do in the desinence (*amor omour, parlar porlá*). *Ai* is degraded into *ei* (*eimá, eital*), as in the favorite usage among other Provençal dialects. *Ieu* becomes *iou* (*dioou, ioou*). *L* sometimes remains, sometimes vanishes (*montel, mourcel* with *pastoureou, quaouque*); *n* similarly (*bien, visin* with *gorssou = garson*). It is particularly to be observed that *ca* here goes hand in hand with the Fr. *ch*; it is not, however, pronounced *ch*, but like *ts* (*charmer, tsarmá, also sachez, sotsas*); *g* (*j*) is analogously changed to *dz* (*gage gadze, jour dzour*). The Latin *ct* undergoes assimilation (*dít, escrits*). The upper dialect is principally distinguished by its allowing *ch* and *g* their usual pronunciation. There are furthermore many peculiarities in the dialects of Auvergne. The lower dialect changes *ai* into *oue* (*maire mouere, apaisar apoueser*); *oi* into *eu* (*noít neu, pois peu, coissa queue*); *eu, iu* into *iau* (*leu liaou, riu riaou*). The liquids *l* and *n* vanish in the desinence (*nouvé, gardi, razóu*). The sibilants *s, ç* and *z* change readily into palatals (*chi, chirot, moucheu = Fr. si, sera, monsieur; ichi, cheux, souchi = ici, cieux, souci; cregeas, rigeant = Pr. crezatz, rizen*). *Ch* is used exactly as in French (*chambro, champ &c.*). As in Limousin the Latin *ct* forms *t*, not the usual equivalent *ch* (*fait, parfet*). For final *c, t* has often introduced itself, reversing the change that takes place in the written language, *foc fiot, vauc vaut*. The upper dialect among other things allows a change of final *l* into *r* (*bel ber, aquel aquer, ostal oustahr, talmen tahrment*). Here *ch* becomes *tz*, and indeed *tg* (*tzami, ritge = Fr. chemin, riche*); *g* or *j* becomes *dz, dg* (*dzudze, mariadze = Fr. juge, mariage*).

Different again is the character of the dialect of Dauphiné (by which Grénoble is principally meant). Unaccented final *a* remains, except after radical *i*, where it is ejected (*roba, pucella, glaci, esperanci, egleysi*). *E* in a similar position becomes *o* (*agio = Fr. age, damagco, miraclo, chano = chène; so vicio = It. vizio*). Great have been the corruptions of the

diphthongs, comp. *jamey*, *voey*, *ney*, *bet*, *fio* with Prov. *jamay*, *vauc*, *neu*, *beu*, *fuec*; but *aiga*, *rey*, *mieu* still present themselves in their ancient form. Final *l* undergoes the corruption with which we are already familiar (*biau*, *lincieu*); but *n* is preserved as a general rule (*ben*, *fin*, *bacon*; contrast, however, *savou*). The treatment of *r* is doubtful (*chalou* = Fr. *chaleur*, *parlá*, *habiller*, *sortir*). *Ca* and *ch* are treated as in the French language, whose influence on this dialect is not to be overlooked; hence particles like *oué* (*oui*), *avey* (*avec*), *chieux* (*chez*). — The Eastern frontier of Dauphiné, in the Piedmontese territory, is inhabited by a small population, avowing a peculiar belief, the Waldensians, whose language has some characteristics, which undoubtedly belong to the Provençal jurisdiction (see single pieces in Raynouard *Choix* II.; Hahn, *Geschichte der Waldenser*, 1847; Herzog, *Romanische Waldenser*, 1853, and others). These are of religious import; the most conspicuous of the poetical works, *la nobla leyczon*, has been referred by some authorities to the close of the 12th century, but is in fact more modern by several centuries, as is probably the whole extant literature. Even respecting the original site of the old Waldensian language it is difficult to pronounce a decided verdict.* Its phonetic laws, however, differ from the Provençal in several not unimportant points. In the vowels this is more rarely to be remarked, as, for instance, when *ei* is written for *ai* (*eital*), *eo* and *io* for *eu* and *iu* (*breo*, *vio*). The two liquids *l* and *n* at the end of a syllable exhibit no peculiarities (*hostal*, *hauta*, *autra*; *fin*, *certain*), but the *m* of inflexions becomes *n* (*sen*, *veyen* = *sem*, *vezem*); final *r* remains unaltered. *T* suffers apocope (*voluntá*, *formá*, *manjé*, *entendé*), the latter form corresponding to the Provençal *entendetz*. *D* readily suffers syncope (*veer*, *poer*). *Ca* is sometimes guttural, sometimes palatal (*cativa*, *peccar* and *pechar*, *chamin*, *chascun*, *archa*). For Latin *ct*, as in Dauphiné, *t* occurs, never *ch* (*dit*, *oyt*, *ensuyt* = *eissuch*).

* See Herzog's *Untersuchung* p. 25—46; and on the *Nobla leyczon* in particular Dieckhoff's *Waldenser im Mittelalter*, p. 114, et seq. A careful analysis of the language has been executed by Grüzmacher, Herrig's *Archiv*, Theil 16.

S impure requires no prothetic vowel (*stela*, *scampá*, *sperit*). The modern Waldensian dialect deviates, as may be perceived at a single glance, still further from the Provençal form of language in the direction of the Italian; moreover its derivation from the old written language admits of much question.* Unaccented *a* and *i* in the desinence are preserved (*filla*, *servissi*, *principi*), as is also the diphthong *ai* (*fait*, *paire*). But *a* is often changed into *e* (*erca*, *entic*); *o* into *ou* or *eu* (*mount*, *aloura*, *peuple*, *heureux*); *oi* into *eui*, *oui* (*neuit*, *peui*, *connoisse*). As regards the consonants, *l* is not corrupted into *u* (*mourtal*), but is sometimes after an initial consonant corrupted in Italian guise into *l* (*ghiesia*, *kiar*, *piassa* = It. *chiesa*, *chiaro*, *piazza*); at the end of a syllable it may also pass into *r* (*ar* = *al*, *sarvá* = *salvar*). Final *m* is changed, as in the older language, into *n* (*poen* = *podem*). *S* frequently suffers apocope (*nou*, *vou*, *apreu* = Fr. *après*). Guttural *ca* predominates, *ch* is rare (*caminá*, *cap*, *chauzi*). The Italian tendency is most observable in the declension, which ceases to admit *s* in the inflexions. The affirmative particle is *si*.

If we now turn our attention from the East to the extreme West of the area we are surveying, we shall encounter a Gascon dialect, which, though not ignoring a primitive Provençal form, contains so many foreign elements, that even in the *Leys d'amors* it is not recognised as Limousin: "apelam lengatge *estranh* coma frances, engles, espanhol, gascó, lombard", II. 388. Among its peculiarities (in speaking of which we take our stand within the Southern portion of the province, that is, within Navarre and Béarn), we find *a* prefixed to *r*, as in Basque (*ren arrei*, *riu arriou*); initial *ll* for *l* as in Catal. (*levar llebá*, *leit lli*); *r* medial for *l* (*galina garie*); *ch* for *s* or *ss* (*senes chens*, *laisser lachá*, *conois conech*); *ca* no longer interchanged with *cha* (*causi*, not *chausi*); *u* pronounced distinctly in *qua* (*can couan*, so also *gaitar gouaitá*); *y* for *j*, as in Basque (*jutjar yutyá*, *joya yoye*, *satge saye*); *b* always for *v* as in the same language (*volia boulé*,

* Biondelli, p. 48, puts it down without qualification as Piedmontese.

servici serbici); *h* for *f* as in Span. (*fagot hagot, far ha, femna hemne*). *

The Catalanian (as from the adjacent province we must denominate a language spread over the East of Spain with the Balearic Islands as well as the French territory of Roussillon), does not, properly speaking, stand in the relation of a dialect to the Provençal; it is really an independent tongue closely related to the latter. In the country where it is spoken, however many of the poets may have partly written in Provençal, the people has never recognised this as their written language; on the contrary their native dialect has very early, and at least from the 13th century downwards, been employed in many works which are still unprinted, and even been the subject of grammatical treatises. The oldest dictionary appears to be that by Antonio de Lebrija, *Lex. catalano-latinum, Barcel.* 1507. An *Ars poetica*, the *Libre de concordances*, by Jacme March (1371), is the oldest in Spain (*Bouterweck traductido*, p. 177). In a statement of phonetic relations we may limit ourselves to the Catalanian form, with which the Valencian appears to be almost identical, although softer accord-

* A *descort* is extant by Rambaut of Vaqueira in five strophes, each one in a different language, and the fourth, as Crescimbeni has already judged, in Gascon. It runs as follows; see *Choix* II. 227.

Dauna, yo me rent a bos,
 Quar eres m' es bon e bera.
 Ancse es guallard e pros
 Ab que nom possetz tan fera.
 Mout abetz beras faissos
 Ab coror fresqu' e novera.
 Bos m' abetz e s' ieubs aguos,
 Nom sofranhera fiera.

In the sequel there are two other Gascon verses.

Ma dauna, fe que dey bos
 Ni peu cap sanhta Quitera.

Rochegude has a somewhat different version. *Dauna* = *dona*, as still in Bayonne; *yo* the present *you*, though below we have *ieu*; *bos* = *vos*; *bera* = *bela*, as still in Agen; *abetz* = *avetz*; *coror* = *color*; *novera* = *novela*; *s'ieubz* = *s'ieu vos*; *aguos* = *agues* (*sibs ag vos* Rocheg.); *peu* = *pel*, now *pou*. *Quitera* is a female saint still revered in Gascony (22 May). Here then is another poet who distinguishes Gascon from Provençal.

ing to Mayans II. 58. As a repertory for the earlier language we shall employ the well-known historical works *Cronica del rey En Pere*, *cet., per Bernat d'Esclot* (towards the close of the 13th century) in the *Chroniques étrangères*, *pub. par Buchon*, *Par.* 1840; compare Amat's *Memorius*, p. 207; and *Cronica*, *cet., per Ramon Muntaner* (1325), *ed. Lanz, Stuttg.* 1844. *

As regards the vowels, *e* and *o* are not diphthongated (*bé, cel, primer, foch, lloch*); the former is sometimes changed into *i*, and the latter into *o* (*durmint, mîls* = *Pr. melhs, llur, ulh vulh, engruxar* = *engrossar*). The Spanish terminal vowels *e* and *o* appear not (*vert fill*), except in a few words imported from Spanish (*Moro, Ebro, feudo*), of which, however, the number subsequently received a considerable accession, especially in Valencia (*cervo* according to A. March, *brinco, motxo* = *Sp. mocho*, &c.). Diphthongs are less favoured by this language than by *Pr.*, a circumstance which gives the former a certain meagreness; nevertheless a few diphthongs are developed by a new process. *Pr. ai* is retained, or condensed into *e* (*aygua, aycell, faray; fer, mes, nexer* = *naisser, tret*), most likely through the medium of *ei* diphthong, as in *seyt* in *mod. Cat. fet*. Thus also *Pr. ei* is extant, but generally becomes *e* (*rey, peyra; dret, fet*). *Oi* and *ui* appear, the latter frequently (*boira, coissó; cuidar, fruyt, nuyt, tuit*). *Au* in the most important classes of words becomes *o* as in *Span. (or, pobre, poch, posar, tresor)*; in others *u* has been formed in Provençal guise from *v* (*blau, brau*), or *z* (see below). *Eu, iu, ou* are again treated as in Provençal (*meu, deus, greu; catiu, ciutat, lliurar, scriure; plou, ploure*); on the developements from consonants see below. *Ie* and *uo* are no Catalonian elements;

* Jaume Febrer's well-known heraldic poem, *Trobes, Valencia* 1796, *Palma* 1848, of which the genuineness has been disputed (chiefly by Sanchez, *Colecc.* I. 81 et seq.), is, according to Fuster (*Bibl. valenc.* I. p. 3), quite genuine, but has been a little modernized in point of expression, in order to be rendered more readable; it goes back to the year 1276. Another ancient repertory, the *Chronica del Rey En Jacme, Val.* 1555, is not in my hands. Observations on the pronunciation appear to be found in the edition by A. March of Joan de Resa 1555. Of later transcripts there is no scarcity.

where they occur in the modern language, as in *fieresa*, *pues*, they have been imported from Castile. The diphthongs *iei*, *ieu* are likewise wanting.

Consonants. *L* initial is softened into *ll* (*llibre*, *lloch*, *llum*); medial *ll* is often replaced by *ll*, especially in the modern language (*vetlar* in Muntaner = Pr. *velhar*, *battle* = Sp. *baile*, *ametlla* = Pr. *mella*); the corruption of *l* into *u* is unusual (*altre*, *escollar*). Final *n*, pointing to a simple Latin *n*, is dropped, as in the Provençal dialects (*baró*, *catalá*, but plur. *barons*, *catalans*); softened *n* is written *ny* (*anys*, *seny* = Pr. *ans*, *senh*). The Provençal sibilants are often ejected; in which case the hiatus is usually filled up with an *h* (*plaher*, *prear*, *rahó*, *vihi*, *dehembre* = *plazer*, *prezar*, *razó*, *vesi*, *dehembre*); but final *tz* is replaced by *u* (*pau*, *palau*, *creu*, *feu*, *preu*, *diu* = Pr. *patz*, *palatz*, *crotz*, *fetz*, *pretz*, *ditz*). *G*, *j*, *x* are palatal; but their application, in the desinence especially, is very undecided; for *puix*, *puix*, *putx*, *puig*, *puig* are written, and pronounced nearly or exactly as Castilian *putch* (*Diccion. catalan. Reus* 1836, p. IX; compare *Ros Dicc. val.*, sub litt. *g et j*); but *g* or *j* between vowels must have a somewhat softer sound (*Fuchs Zeitw.* p. 75). *X* is used by Muntaner for the Sp. *ch* (*Sanxo*) and It. *c* (*Proxida*); and the Catalanian Bastero remarked, "le nostre sillabe *xa*, *xe*, cet. si profferiscono come le toscane *cia*, *ce*". Prov. *ss* as a rule is replaced by *x* (*puix*, *conexer*, *pareix*, *dix*, *axi*, *mateix*, *baixar* = *pois*, *conoisser*, *pareis*, *dis*, *aissi*, *meteis*, *baissar*). Lat. *d* is represented by *u*, that is to say treated as *tz* (*caure*, *peu* = *cadere*, *pedem*); in other cases it is rejected, as in Provençal, or becomes *s* (*possehir*, *presich*, also *espasa*); in the combination *nd* it is ejected even when medial (*manar*, *prenia*, *responre*). The combination *nt*, however, is retained, after an accented vowel, even in the desinence (*infant*, *quant*). *C*, the guttural, is written *ch* in the desinence, for which no sufficient reason occurs. *C*, the sibilant, is pronounced soft like *s* (*Ros* sub lit. *c*), consequently not like the Spanish *c*. *Ct* is resolved into *it*, in which the vowel may be dropped (*lhuytar*, *nuyt*, *dret* for *dreit*). In *qua*, *gua* the *u* is sounded.—The modern language has but slightly modified this arrange-

ment by yielding to Castilian influence, so as even to allow its affirmative *hoch*, the characteristic of the Provençal branch, to be superseded by *si*.

VI. French Jurisdiction.

Cæsar found in Gallia three nations divided by language, manners and laws, the Belgæ in the North-east, the Aquitani in the South-west, and between the two the true Galli or Celtæ. Among these the Celtæ and the Belgæ, as appears from other accounts, were of a like race, whereas the Aquitani seem to have been partly of Iberian origin. On the south coast the Greek language and civilization were diffused by Marseilles. Throughout the country the Romans did their best, when they had subdued it, to extirpate the native languages. Of the duration of the latter we have a few historical records. At the beginning of the third century Ulpianus in a well-known passage refers to Gallic as a living language: "Fidei commissa quocunque sermone relinqui possunt, non solum latina vel græca, sed etiam punica vel gallicana." Towards the end of the fourth century Hieronymus, who knew Gaul from his own observation, refers to the cognate languages of the Galatians and Treviri, "Galatas propriam linguam eandem habere quam Treviros" (*præf. ad libr. II. in epist. ad Gal.*). At about the same time Sulpicius Severus mentions Celtic or Gallic as a provincial idiom still subsisting by the side of the Latin: "vel celticè aut, si mavis, gallicè loquere" (*Opp. Lugd. Bat. p. 543*); and Marcellus Empiricus quotes a number of Gallic botanical names from his native place (*J. Grimm on Marcellus, 1849*). Towards the middle of the fifth century Sidonius Apollinaris (*ep. 3. 3*) censures the "sermonis celtici squama" still adhering to the nobility among the Arverni in Aquitaine, by which term he may certainly refer to provincialisms in their Latin. At all events the old language had not yet died out in the territory of Auvergne in the latter part of the sixth century when Grég.

de Tours still explains a proper name by it; "Brachio, quod eorum (Arvernorum) lingua interpretatur ursi catulus" (*Vit. pat. cap. 12*). But, considering the immense predominance of the Latin language, it must not be assumed that the Celtic at so late a period survived otherwise than here and there about the country, and that with a considerable intermixture of Latin. From the beginning of the fifth century settlements in Gaul began to be acquired by various Germanic tribes, namely the Burgundians, Goths and Franks; these last during the latter part of the same century put an end to the supremacy of the Romans. Long after this a new Germanic immigration took place, namely that of the Normans, who in the 10th century acquired possession of the Northern coast.

If we now take a general survey of the materials of the French language, we shall readily perceive that the Latin element is smaller, and the German much more important in it than in Italian or Spanish. The comparison will become still more unfavorable for Latin, if we take into account the dialects, or what comes to the same, the more ancient written language, though this latter is by no means deficient in obsolete Latin words. As to the origin of the non-Latin, and at the same time non-Germanic remnant within this area, it is certainly as hard to decide as in respect to the Italian area. It is a surprising thing, that of those Gallic words which the ancients have handed down to us explicitly under this designation, a full half can be retraced in French, Provençal or other Romance dialects, and this in popular use, though they had not been so used in Latin. Words of this kind are *alauda* lark, Plin., Pr. *alauza*, O. Fr. *aloe*; *arepennis*, a superficial measure, Colum., Pr. *arpen*, Fr. *arpent*; *arinca* a kind of corn, Plin., whence, according to general opinion the dialectic *riguet* rye, see Adelung's *Mithridates* II. 45; *beccus* beak, Sueton., Fr. and Pr. *bec*; *benna* a sort of carriage, Festus, O. Fr. *benne*, Fr. *banne* carriage *basket*; *betula* birch, Plin., Fr. *bouveau*, dial. *boule*; *braccæ βαραι* breeches, Diodor. Sic. and others, Fr *braie*; *brace* a kind of grain from which malt was prepared, Plin., O. Fr. *bras*; *bulga* a purse, Lucil., O. Fr. *boge* wallet; *cervisia* a beverage, Plin., O. Fr. *cervio*; *circius*

cercius the northwest wind, Vitruv., not positively shown to be Gallic, Pr. *cers*; *leuca* a measure of distance, Ammian., Isid., Pr. *legua*, Fr. *lieue*; *marga*, a manure, O. Fr. *marle* (margula), Fr. *marne*; *matarata mataris materis*, a weapon, Cæsar and others, O. Fr. *matras*; *sagum* military cloak, Gallic according to Varro and Polyb., O. Fr. *saie*; *vertragus* a kind of dog, Martial., Ælian. and others, O. Fr. *viautre*; *vettonica* a plant, Plin., Fr. *bétoine*. Others are missing; *ambactus*, *bardus*, *cateia*, *covinus* (Belg. or Brit.), *emarcum*, *essedum*, *gæsum* (Fr. *gèse* is spurious) *galba*, *petorritum*, *ploxinum*, *reno*, *rheda*, *soldurius*, *taxea*, *toles*, *urus*, *vargus* (first occurs in Sidonius). * Another, but a less clear source of information, may be found in the Britannic dialects, Bréton, Welsh, Irish and Gaelic—less clear, because these dialects have themselves sustained a considerable admixture of Latin, English and French, so that it is not always easy to distinguish what is native and what is foreign in them. We cannot but suppose, however, that many words must have penetrated the Norman-French from the Kymric dialects, and have thence been further propagated. Appropriations from the Bréton were also natural enough.

The jurisdiction of the French language comprises, after deducting that of the Provençal, the greater portion of Romanesque France with the Norman islands and part of Belgium and Switzerland. Beyond these limits, however, it has acquired an unexampled extension as the common language of European society. — Its earliest name was *lingua gallica*. Johannes Diaconus says, for instance (about the year 874), “Ille more gallico sanctum senem increpitans *follem*” (Fr. *fol*, *fou*), Ducange sub voce *folles*. The monk of St. Gall about 885 observes “caniculas, quas gallica lingua veltres nuncupant”, Ducange s. v. *canis*. Witichind (1000), “ex nostris etiam fuere qui gallica lingua ex parte loqui sciebant”, apud Meibom. I. 646. In Bréton the designation is still current; *gallek* is the French language, and *Gall* the Frenchman. *Francisca* or

* Others are enumerated by Du Ménil, *Formation de la langue franç.* 119. Comp. Chevallet, *Orig.* I. 219 et seq.

francica was at first the name given to the Frankish language only, as in Ermoldus Nigellus, Eginhard, Otfried and others, and only after the decline of the latter in France was it inherited by the northern Romance language now called *langue française*; no Provençal would have applied this name to his own dialect. But as the name of Frenchman was in the middle ages applied more particularly to the inhabitants of the Isle of France (see authorities in Du Méril *Dict. norm.* p. 11), the term French might also possibly have been restricted to the inhabitants of this island; nevertheless it was extended in a wider sense to the entire jurisdiction of the mother-language; thus we read *ço espelt en frances* in the Norman *Livres des rois*, and to the same effect in the *Rom. du Rou.* and everywhere. Even in those early generations, however, the purest French was supposed to be that of the Isle of France or of Paris, a fact for which we might adduce the most notorious authorities. Another expression, and largely used by recent authors, is the *langue d'oïl*, the antithesis to *langue d'oc*. The public use of the *langue d'oïl*, especially in the pulpit, is attested, as might have been expected, at a very early time. St. Mommolinus (7th century) was called to Noyon, *quia prævalebat non tantum in teutonica, sed etiam in romana lingua* (Reiffenberg in his edition of Phil. Mouskes, I. p. C). Of Adalhard the Abbot of Corbie, a Frank (born about 750 A. D.), we are told by his pupil Paschasius Ratbert, "*quem si vulgo audisses, dulcissimus emanabat*", which is more clearly expressed by a later biographer, "*qui si vulgari*" (i. e. *romana*) "*lingua loqueretur*", *Choix* 1, p. 15. A well-known ordinance of the Council of Tours (813) decrees "*ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam romanam linguam aut theotiscam.*" Of the synod of Mousson, 995, we are told, "*Episcopus Viridunensis, eo quod gallicam linguam norat, causam synodi prolaturus surrexit*" (Hard. Conc. VI. 1. 729). As a language of political transactions it appears after the partition of Verdun in the oaths of Strasburg (842) and Coblenz (860).

The first relics of the language are of very early date. The following belong to the ninth and tenth century. 1) The above-

mentioned oaths of Louis the German and the army of Charles the Bald at Strasburg in a facsimile publ. by Roquefort (*Gloss.*), and Chevallet. 2) The legend of St. Eulalia, of the latter part of the 9th century, edited by Willems, *Elnonensia*, Gand 1837—1845; complete facsimile in Chevallet I. 86. 3) The fragment of Valenciennes, a remnant of a homily on the prophet Jonah, intermixed with Latin, edited by Génin, *Chans. de Roland*, Paris 1850, belonging, in the editor's judgment, to the 9th or 10th century. 4) The Passion of Christ, a poem in a semi-Provençal dialect, of the 10th century, edited by Champollion-Figeac, *Documents historiques*, cet. Par. 1848, tom. 4. 5) The legend of St. Leodegarius, a poem in a similar mixed dialect, probably of the 10th century also, edited by Champollion, *loc. cit.*, and by Du Ménil, *Formation* p. 414, with a corrected text. From the 11th and 12th centuries we must further cite as most valuable for grammatical investigations, the Lay of Saint Alexius, edited by W. Müller (Haupt's *Zeitschr.* V. 299), and with a corrected text by Geszner (Herrig's *Archiv* XVII., p. 189); the Laws of William the Conqueror, in various editions from manuscripts now lost (for the only extant one is modernized and imperfect); the Psalter of Trinity College, Latin, A. S., and French (see Charlemagne p. XXXII, Tristan II. 241, *Rapport au ministre* 199); the Books of Kings, edited by Leroux de Lincy, with Moralities on the Book of Job, and a selection of sermons by St. Bernard; *Les quatre livres des Rois*, Par. 1841.

A fine poetic literature is seen developing itself in the 12th and 13th centuries. Up to this period, and even into the midst of the following century the language carries with it its primitive grammatical character; afterwards a remarkable change creeps into the inflexions. We shall call this language in a philological sense the O. French.

The grammatical literature begins in the 16th century. John Palgrave, an Englishman, born in 1480, made the first attempt

* In Du Ménil, *Form.* p. 186 this is immediately followed by the *Épître farcie* for the festival of St. Stephan, and by the pastoral letter of Adalbero, Bishop of Metz, of which the former has been edited by Du Ménil, and the latter by Borel.

in this department in *L'esclaircissement de la langue françoise*, 1530, written in English (newly edited by Génin, Paris 1852), a tolerably complete and philologically valuable production. The author cites earlier grammatical works. A few years later appeared *An introductorie for to lerne French trewly*, London (no date), by Gilles Du Wes or Du Guez (lately edited by Génin, after Palsgrave). Nearly at the same time appeared *In linguam gallicam isagoge*, Par. 1531, by the learned physician Sylvius (Jacques Dubois). Other works are; by Louis Meigret, a *Tretté de la grammaire françoee*, Par. 1550. By Rob. Stephanus, the author of the Latin dictionary, *Traicté de la grammaire françoise*, Genève 1557, translated as *Gallicæ grammaticæ libellus*, Par. 1560. By Petrus Ramus, *Gramère*, Par. 1562, revised 1572; translated by Thevenin as *P. Rami Grammatica francica*, Francof. 1583. By Anton. Caucius, *Grammatica gallica*, Basil. 1570. By Joh. Pilotus, *Gallicæ linguæ institutio*, Lugd. 1586. Unfortunately the grammarians of this century thought it their business to come forward as reformers of the language, and in particular to subject the orthography to such entirely novel regulations, as frequently proved ridiculous or devoid of taste. There was, however, no lack of more gifted authors, to devote a portion of their attention to the national language, as did, for instance, the philologists Budæus, Bouille, Joach. Périon, Henr. Stephanus, J. J. Scaliger and Casaubon. Of Bouille's productions we must cite, for instance, *Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum et gallici sermonis varietate*, Par. 1533. Of Périon, *Dialogi de linguæ gallicæ origine, ejusque cum græca cognatione*, Par. 1555, translated by the author himself into French. By Stephanus, *Traicté de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, Paris 1569; new edition, Par. 1853. *De la précellence du langage françois*, Par. 1579, new edition, Par. 1850. Scaliger and Casaubon, and afterwards Salmasius, entered frequently in their critical notes into questions of French etymology.

Dictionaries appeared as early as the 15th century, e. g. *Dictionnaire latin-françois*, publ. par Garbin, Genève 1487; *Dicti-
onnaire fr. lat.*, Par., de l'imprim. de Rob. Estienne 1539. The

first edition of the Dictionary of the Academy appeared in 1694. The most important etymological work is Ménage's *Dictionnaire étym. de la langue franç.*, Par. 1650—1694.

Dialects. These play in French a much more important part than in Italian, because in the whole of the earlier literature they enjoy the fullest validity, no special one having as yet been recognised as the literary language. The old writers themselves refer to these dialects by names, which were naturally borrowed from their respective provinces, and were freely current even in those times. In *Reinardus Vulpes*, for instance (12th cent.), the fox speaks Burgundian (4. 449):

“Hæc ubi burgundo vulpes expresserat ore”,

after the language of the work in general had previously (380) been styled Frankish, i. e. French. The Provençal romance *Flamenca* mentions Burgundian by the side of French as an independant language (*Lex. rom.* 1. 22);

“E saup ben parlar bergonó,
Frances e ties e bretó.”

In a Lorrain Psalter of the end of the 14th century (*Livre des Rois*, p. XLI), we are told “vez ci lou psaultier dou latin trait et translateit en romans, en laingue lorenne” (*lorraine*). A troubadour in a passage which we have already quoted (p. 103) names the Norman and Poitevin dialects. The poet Quenes de Béthune complains that his Artesian, that is, Picardian dialect, was ridiculed in the court at Paris (*Romanc. franç.* p. 83).

“Ne cil ne sont bien appris ne courtois,
Qui m'ont repris si jai dit mot d'artois.”

There are, however, three dialects under which we may reduce the principal peculiarities of the provinces, namely, the Burgundian, the Picardian and the Norman. Between these three, and intermixed with all of them, lies that of the Isle of France, the French in a more limited sense, from which was mainly formed the language that gradually legitimized itself as that of literature. So early a writer as Roger Bacon specifies these as the ruling dialects in France; “Nam et idiomata ejusdem linguæ variantur apud diversos, sicut

patet de lingua gallicana, quæ apud Gallicos et Picardos et Normannos et Burgundos multiplici variatur idiomate" (Du Ménil, *Dict. norm.* p. XX). Even the later grammarians occasionally take the leading dialects into account. Périon, for instance, besides his own dialect the Burgundian, which he holds up as the literary language, recognises the Picardian and the Norman. It is well known that a more recent philologist, Fallot, has investigated this subject with becoming diligence in his original work *Recherches sur les formes grammaticales, cet. Par.* 1839, which, however, has remained a mere sketch or fragment. He too assumes three leading dialects, of which he accurately defines the jurisdictions in the 13th century; they are the Norman, in Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Perche, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge; the Picardian in Picardy, Artois, Flanders, Hainault, Bas-Maine, Thierache, Rethelois; and the Burgundian in Burgundy, Nivernais, Berry, Orléanais, Touraine, Bas-Bourbonnais, Ile de France, Champagne, Lorraine and Franche-Comté. We will now survey, limiting ourselves, however, to a small selection of authorities, the most important dialects, not without reference to their recent and present form. We cannot attempt to exhaust variations and exceptions. It need scarcely be remarked, that the phonetic laws traceable in the manuscripts are not based upon a settled orthography, and that therefore the value of the letters cannot in all cases be determined with certainty. As the writers had doubtless read books in the most various dialects, they were unable to keep themselves from intermingling extraneous systems of orthography, by which, however, they had no intention of expressing a peculiar pronunciation; and this freedom was all the more readily excused, because their works were designed for the entire domain of the language, and not for the narrow limits of a dialect.

In the Burgundian, for which the *Dialogues* of Gregorius (Du Ménil, *Form.* p. 428), and Gérard de Viane may serve as authorities, the modification of the vowels by an annexed *i* may be signalized as characteristic. For instance Fr. *a* is represented by *ai* (*jai, brais, pais, mesaige, chaingier, bairon* = *ja, &c.*). *E*, whether close or open, is replaced by *ei*

(*penseir, penseiz*, partic. and 2^d plur. *aleie* = *allée, veriteit*, *meir* = *mer*, *neif* = *nef*, *freire, peire*), but also by *ie*, especially after *g* and *ch* (*plaidier, laissier, jugier, mangier, chief; aimer, doner*). *E* and *i* are sometimes represented by *oi* (*moiner* = *mener, manoeier, noier, proier, proisier* = *manier, nier, prier, priser*). This here much-favored diphthong not only engrosses the modern French *oi*, it represents *ai*, also, so far as this combination is not connected with the Provençal *ai* (*fois, rois, devoir; françois, roit, perdoie, plaisoit, laroie* = *français, roide i. e. raide, perdais, plaisait, laisserais*); we read, however, *alait, aurait*. *Eau, eaux* are here expressed by *iau, iax, iax* (*hiaume, biau, biaz, coutiax*). *Eu* sometimes by *ou*, sometimes by *o* (*soul, gloriouz, flor, dolor, volt* = *veut*). For *ou* the ancient *o* has remained in vogue (*vos, jor, amor, secors, sofre, tot; vous, bouton*). Among the consonants *l* often resists, graphically at least, the tendency towards corruption into *u* (*oisel, altre, halt, chevalz, haut, vasaus*). In the more modern dialect, as we find it, for instance, in La Monnoye (born at Dijon, 1641), we observe the same inclination to combine certain vowels with *i*, that is, we have *ai* for *a* (*lai, glaice, laivai* = *laver*), and even for *e* (*ronflai, bontai, trompait*), as well as a tendency to substitute *ei* for *a* and for *è* (*jei, teiche* = *déjà, tache; peire* = *père, mysteire*). *U* is often pronounced *eu* (*jeuste, leugne* = *lune, seur, treufe*). The preference for *oi*, which is also sometimes condensed into *o*, continues (*françois, moigre, moison, frêche, chantò, pône, foindre* = *français, maigre, maison, fraîche, chantais, peine, feindre*). *Eau* becomes *ea* (*bea, morcea*). *O* is constantly substituted for *ou* (*jor, aimor, cor* = *court, vo* = *vous*). *Ie* before *r* is transposed into *ei* (*pousseire, premeire, premei* for *premeir*), as in O. Burg. we already have *seculairz*. Final *l* readily vanishes (*autai, noei* = *autel, Noël*). Medial *n* is often softened into *gn* (*breugne, epeigne* = *brune, épine*). The dropping of the *r* before consonants and in the desinence (*vatu, po, savoi* = *vertu, pour, savoir*) is a negligence very common in the popular dialect.

The Lorraine subdialect differs but slightly from the Burgundian; see examples in the above cited Psalter p. 121, such as *jai* for *ja*, *langaigé, donneir, asseiz, prie* (not *proie*), *savoir*,

françois, *soul* = *seul*, *perillouse*, *errour*). But the modern *ou* is always here matched by the same sound, not by *o*. One remarkable characteristic is the use of *w* for the German *w* (*warder* = *garder*); as we also find in a Verdun document (*Liv. des Rois*, p. 74) *warentise*; compare in the sermons of St. Bernard, which in some other points remind us of this dialect, *werpir*, *eswarder*, and the like.

The modern dialects of Lorraine retain many Burgundian peculiarities, but are in general much corrupted. They exhibit diphthongs, for instance, of which we have no symptoms in the earlier dialects, as at Nancy they pronounce *aimer* (*amer*), *foueive* (*fève*), and in Metz *petiat* for *petit*, *pieu* for *peu*.

The French dialect, if we may trust the intimations of Rutebeuf (under Louis XI), deviated in his time in a few points only from the Burgundian. The diphthongation here does not comprise *a* (*voiage* never *voiaige*), but does comprise *e*, which is sometimes, though less commonly, represented by *ei* (*parleir*, *doneiz*, *povretei*; *venez*, *volenté*, *mer* (not *meir*), sometimes by *ie* (*chiere*, *ches* = *chez*, *brisier*, *laissier*). *Oi* continues to be of considerable importance (*loier*, *proier*; *j'avoie*, *estoit*, *voudroit*, *savoir*). Of a more limited application is *iau* (*biau*; *oisel*, *ostel*). *Eu* rarely becomes *o* (*cuer* = *cœur*, *seul*; *dolor*). *Ou* by the side of *o* appears somewhat more frequently (*nous*, *goute*, *jouer*, *moustrer*; *jor*, *retor*, *cop*, *molt*).

The Picardian dialect, in reference to which we shall build on Gérard de Nevers and the prose writer Brandanus, has in its vowel system a considerable affinity with the Burgundian. *E*, for instance, is readily diphthongated into *ie* (*biel*, *nouvel*, *adies*, *chief*, *chiere*, *prisier*, *mangier*). It treats just as the latter does, *ou* (*jour jor*), *oi* (*cortois*, *avoir*, *estoit*, *oseroie*), and *iau* (*biaus*, *oisiaus*, *vaissiaus*; *bials*, *chastiel*). For *ieu* we find *iu* (*liu*). In its consonant system occurs the important variation, that Fr. *ç* or *ss*, standing for the Latin *ci*, *ti*, is usually represented by *ch*, and *ch* by *k* (*Franche*, *merchi*, *fache* = *fasse*, *cacher* = *chasser*; *canter*, *pekié* = *pêché*); but even in the most characteristic remains of this dialect (as for instance the records in *Livre des Rois*, p. 70—73), the Picardian

usage is very frequently interrupted by the French, so that *ce*, *chose* are written by the side of *che*, *cose*. Other features of this consonant system are; *ga* for *ja* (*gayant*, *sergans* = *géant*, *sergent*), and the German *w* (*warder*, *werpir*). The modern Picardian dialect (according to Corblet) changes, as the ancient did, *e* into *ie* (*biel*, *traitier*), *ai* into *oi* (even in *moison*, *moite*, *payer* = *maison*, *maître*, *payer*), *eau* into *iau*, but also into *ieu* (*biau*, *coutiau*; *bieu*, *vieu* = *veau*), *ieu* into *iu* (*diu*, *liu*, *liue*). Next to *oi*, which is pronounced *oë* or *ouë*, it favours the element *eu*, which may take the place of *u*, *ou* or *au* (*leune*, *beue*, *keusses* = *lune*, *boue*, *chausses*), whereas *eu* is commonly represented in a different way (*fu*, *malhur*; *plorer*, *jonesse*). In its consonant system it has been but little modified. We ought to remark perhaps that *l* and *r* in the desinence are ejected (*rèque*, *aimape* = *règle*, *aimable*; *chene*, *soufe* = *cendre*, *soufre*), that for *k* representing Fr. *ch* we sometimes find *g* substituted (*guevau*; *guille* = *cheval*, *cheville*), and above all that the consonants in the desinence are always pronounced *hard*.

In Flanders the dialect has but slight peculiarities. Records of the 13th century from Tournay (Mousk. 2. 309 et seq.) exhibit, for instance, in Burgundian guise *heretaige*, *pasturaige*, or *estaule* for *estable*, *paysieule* for *paisible*. In Hainault, too, a few variations occur; the archives of Valenciennes, for instance (Reiffenberg, *Monum. de Namur* I. 454), give *volontei*, *veriteit*, *wardeir*. A remarkable point in the modern form of this dialect are *ô* for *oi* (*fô*, *valenchenos* = *fois*, *valencenois*).*

The Norman dialect, for the description of which we shall make use of the Laws of William the Conqueror and Charlemagne, is very fond of changing *a* before *n* into *au* (*aunz* = *ans*, *maunder*). French *e* is never or rarely changed into *ie* or *ei* (*chef*, *mer*; *chier*, *crieve* = *cher*, *crève*, *Lois de Guill.*; *avez* = *avez* Charlem.), in other authorities, however, *ie* is tolerably usual. *U*, *o*, *ou*, *eu*, are all alike most usually

* The Hainault dialect is mentioned in one very old epic poem; the ambassador of king Marsilius understands "normant, breton, hainuier et tiois"; see *Eractius* by Maszmann, p. 562. Its present name is *Rouchi*.

represented by *u*, which is one of the chief characteristics of this dialect (*vertuz; unt, hunte, hume, reisun; jur, pur, vus, truer, duble; ure = heure, bufs, colur, doluruse*), among which are certainly many deviations which we cannot here exhaust or explain. For *ai* we frequently find *ei* (*feit, meis, mein, seint, franceis, aveit, avereit; averai, fait &c.*). This *ei* is the peculiar and characteristic Norman expression for *oi* (*fei, lei, rei, seit, saveir and saver, meité = moitié*). *ie* becomes simple *e*, in many authorities however *ie* (*ben, cel, ped, vent, dener, chevaler, amisted = amitié Charlem.; afierent, pied, Lois de Guill.*). The attraction of *i*, which in Fr. readily generates a diphthong, is here avoided (*pecunie, testimonie, glorie, miserie*). *C* and *ch* are treated in the above-cited authorities as in French; in others, however, the Picardian relations are observable. The language after its transplantation into England developed many peculiarities in spelling and pronunciation, which at length imprinted quite an English character on it. In the modern Norman (Du Ménil, *Decorde*) we look in vain for the strongly marked features of the old dialect. Is it the effect of Picardian influence? The predominance of the *u*, for instance, is confined within much narrower limits; for we find *bacon* for the old *bacun*, *leur* or *leu* for *tur*, *tout* for *tut*. *Ei* for *oi* has, however, left manifold traces behind it, being sometimes represented by *e*, and sometimes by *ai* (*mei, bet, dré, nerchir, aver = moi, boît, droit, noircir, avoir; fais, vaie, vaix = fois, voie, voix*). *Eau*, in the early language, appears as a diphthong (*batiau, avias = oiseau*). *ie* remains diphthongal (*bien, rien, batière*). The system of expressing *ç* (*ss*) by *ch* and *ch* by *k* is here more decidedly carried out than in the early writers (*cha, capuchin, nourichon = ça, capucin, nourrisson; cat, acater, quien = chat, acheter, chien; chère, chèvre* as in French). *V* for *gu* is very usual (*varet, vaule, vey = guéret, gaule, gué*). That the troubadours did not include the Poitevin dialect in the Provençal has been mentioned p. 103. In the old Poitevin poems that have been handed down to us a mixture is certainly to be recognised of French and Provençal, in which the former appears to

predominate.* From the time, however, that Poitou began to belong to France (1206), the *langue d'Oïl* spread itself more and more over the province, especially from the side of Normandy, so that its speech, in spite of numerous Provençal expressions, must now be distinctly referred to the French area.

The Burgundian and Picardian dialects are closely related to one another in their vowel system, the former being somewhat richer in diphthongs. They both present a contrast to the Norman, which loves to put simple vowels in the place of diphthongs, and must therefore yield to its sisters in the variability of its vowel sounds. The consonant system of the dialects has but a single widely operating characteristic, which distinguishes them from one another and from the present literary language, i. e., the mode of dealing with the Lat. *c*.

The extreme North-eastern territory of the *langue d'Oïl* bordering in one direction on the Picardian, and in another on the Burgundian area, is occupied by the Walloon idiom, which commanding from its situation a secure independence, has developed many peculiar phonetic mutations, and preserves many characteristics which remind us of antiquity.** It has less in common with the Picardian, than might have been

* Such poems come frequently before us in various collections, and several of them have been already printed, see *Livre des Rois*, p. 63, et seq., Wackernagel, p. 32, G. de Nevers 20. Comp. Aubery, p. 50.

"Vieler font un cortois jongleur,

Sons poitevins lor chante cil d'amor."

A record from Bas-Poitou (A. D. 1238) (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, III. sér. V. 87) is almost pure French.

** The Walloons received their name from the adjacent Germans, or, properly speaking, the general name of *Walah* for *Galli* remained attached to them particularly, they themselves adopting it likewise, and behaving differently, in this respect, from the Wallachians and Grisons. This term for the language occurs by the side of the word *Romance* as early as the 12th century. Rudolph, Abbot of St. Trond, writes in 1136, "*Adelardus . . . nativam linguam non habuit teutonicam, sed quam corrupte nominant romanam, teutonicam wallonicam*". See Grandgagnage's treatise *De l'origine des Wallons*, Liège 1852. From this learned author we still expect a scientific analysis of the Walloon idiom, which would form an important contribution to philology.

anticipated from its coming so extensively into contact with it; "il faut bien se garder", says Hécart, "de confondre le Rouchi" (that is, the adjacent Picardian) "avec le Wallon, qui n'y ressemble guère". Still less is it allied to the Lorraine dialect. The following are examples of its phonetic relations. *A* is often corrupted into *e* (*chess*, *pless*, *chet*, *greter*, *sechai*). There is an open *e* and there is a close, but their application (as is the case in other dialects), does not exactly agree with the French; *père*, for instance, becomes *pére*, *cognée* *cougneie*. Before groups of consonants *e* is readily diphthongated into *ie* (*biess*, *vièrsé* = *bête*, *verser*). In the like position *o* is changed into *oi*, when the first of the consonants is *r* (*coirbá* = *corbeau*). *Ou* very frequently occurs in its old form *o* (*to* = *tout*, *trové*). *U* may be replaced sometimes by *ou*, sometimes by *eu* (*nou*, *houg* = *nu*, *huche*; *co-meunn*, *meur* = *commune*, *mur*). *Ai* generally answers to the French *ai*. *Oi* and *ui* generally answer here to the simple sounds *eu* and *u* (*neur*, *poleur* = *noir*, *pouvoir*; *boi* = *bois*; *cûr* = *cuir*). *Au* splits into *â* (*aw*) and *ô* (*fâ*, *causion* = *faut*, *caution*; *chô* = *chaud*). *Eau* gives *ai*, scarcely ever *ia* (*bai*, *chestai*, *coutai* *coutia* = *beau*, *château*, *couteau*). For *ie* we find *i* introduced (*bin*, *fîr*, *pi* = *pied*, *clavi* = *clavier*). As regards the consonants, *l* and *r* are dropped as in the modern Picardian (*cop*, *fîb* = *couple*, *fièvre*). *Ll* and *gn* may suffer apocope (*barbion*, *coy* = *barbillon*, *cueillir*; *champion* = *champignon*). *S*, *ss*, *ç* when final or medial, and *esc* even when initial are often resolved into an aspiration (*ahe*, *lehiv*, *foih* = *aise*, *lessive*, *forces*; *hlairi* = *éclairé* = *éclairé*, *marihâ* = *mariscal* = *maréchal*). *St* final is reduced to *ss* (*ess*, *aouss* = *être*, *août*). Initial *s* impure does not generally require the prosthetic *e* (*staf*, *skrîr*, *spal* = *étable*, *écrire*, *épaule*). *Ç* holds its ground (*cir*, not *chir*, Pic. *chiel*, Fr. *ciel*). So *ch* for the most part remains; but at the end of a syllable becomes *g*, and sometimes also in Picardian guise *k* (*chein*, *atechi* = *chien*, *attacher*; *egté*, *cheg* = *acheter*, *charge*, *cangi*, *bock* = *changer*, *bouche*). *U* is sounded in *qu* (*kouatt* = *quatre*). *W* = *g* as in Picardy and Lorraine (*wazon*, *waym* = *gazon*, *gaine*; *aweie* = *aiguille*).

The materials of the French dialects, as of the Italian, have affinities somewhat more complex than those of the written language. The Lorraine dialect, for instance, has even up to recent times received large and continual accessions of High German words from the territories immediately adjoining. Similarly the Picardian has received Flemish elements. In the Norman we recognise Breton elements; but a much greater number has been appropriated of Frankish, Norse and Anglo-Saxon words, which are not recognised in the literary language. Examples are, *ainque* for *aingle* = *hamus* (O. H. G. *angul*), *bédière* = *lectus* (O. N. *bed*), *bur*, dwelling [bower] (O. H. G. *bûr*), *clanche*, latch (N. H. G. *klinke*), *cotin*, hut (O. N. *kot*), *cranche* = *ægrotus* (*krank*), *dale* = *vallis* (O. N. *dal*), *drugir* to run backwards and forwards (? O. N. *draugaz* = *more larvarum circumerrare*), *esprangner* to break to pieces (O. H. G. *sprengan*, N. *sprengia*), *finer* = *invenire* (O. N. *finna*), *flo* flock (*flockr*), *grimer* to scratch (M. H. G. *krimmen*), *haule* a ditch (O. H. G. *hol*), *heri* hare (O. N. *hêri*), *hogue* hill (*haugr*), *hut* = *pileus* (O. H. G. *huot*), *lague* custom (A. S. *lag law*), *lider* to slip (A. S. *glidan*), *napin* = *puer* (O. N. *knappi*), *naqueter* to gnash with the teeth (O. N. *gnacka*), *guenottes*, teeth (O. N. *kinn* = *maxilla*), *vatre* pool (Eng. *water*); see Du Ménil, *Dict. norm.* 86.

In a portion of the ancient Rhætia, forming the modern canton of the Grisons, there still survives a Romance language, which, though allied in some features to the Italian, and in some to the Provençal or to the French, bears in its general structure a decided stamp of originality. This strip of Rhætia was originally called *Chure-wala* (Graff I, 839); whence in German the fittest expression for the language has been considered as *Chur-wälsch*, which is more special and less pretentious than *Rhæto-Romanesque*, a combination nowhere entering into popular use; in the country itself it is called *Rumonsch* = Pr. *romans*. As a twin sister of the six literary languages above-discussed, we are unable, in spite of all arguments, to regard it, partly because it has been, as is justly remarked by its very observant analyst, Aug. Fuchs, so disturbed by foreign influences as never to have

acquired an independent status, but principally because no true written language has come into existence within its territory, inasmuch as it is only its dialects that are written, and that with a very arbitrary and confused orthography. So that there is here no aulic and cultivated idiom, a thing indeed which an Alpine tribe could never have wanted; what passes for a written language goes hand in hand with the dialects and varies along with them. Its oldest monument is a translation of the New Testament (A. D. 1560), of which Carisch gives specimens (*Formenlehre* p. 174—185). There are two chief dialects, the *Oberland* about the sources of the Rhine, and on those of the Inn, the Engadin, which is also called the Ladin, i. e. Latin. These are, however, divided into sub-dialects, e. g., the Engadin into the Upper and Lower of this name; see Canisch's *Wörterbuch*, p. XXV et seq., *Formenlehre*, p. 118 et seq., and Böttiger's *Rhæto-romaneska språkets dialekter*, Upsala 1853.

Among the phonetic laws we need here only mention those which, even though not consistently carried out, have struck something like a root into the language; to the others we shall have opportunities of referring hereafter. *A* before *l* and *n* frequently appears in the form of *au* (Lat. *calidus*, Gris. *cauld*, *angelus aungel*), in other cases it becomes *o* (*anima, olma, clamo, clomm*); in Engad. it may be attenuated into *ä* (*faba fäv, vanitas vanität, laudare lodär*). *E* in the Oberland is diphthongated into *ie* and *ia* (*ferrum fier, terra tiara*). *A*, *e* and *i* become *ai* in the same dialect, and in Engad. *ei* (*honorabilis, hundraivel, hundreivel; plenus plain plein; piper, peiver peiver*). *O*, when not retained, becomes in Oberl. sometimes *u* (*bonus bun, pons punt, corona coronna*), sometimes *ie*, which is replaced in Engad. by *ö* (*oleum ieli öli, nobilis niebel nöbel*). Long *u* (seldom short *u*) becomes in Engad. *ü*, and in Oberl. is attenuated into *i* (*durus dür dirr, justus jüst gist*). *O* and *u* in Engad. are often diphthongated into *uo* (*forma fuorma, curtus cuort*). *Au* makes Oberl. *au*, Engad. *ö* (*fraus, fraud fröd*). The vowel desinences are treated as in Provençal or Upper-Italian (*casa, facil, amar, amig*). The uncertainty of the unaccented vowels in initial syllables surpasses

all bounds, and is hardly paralleled in any other Romance dialect (*pavo pivun, papyrus pupir, tenere taner, peccatum puccau, servitium survetsch, timere tumer, infans uffont, portare purtar, junix gianitscha, laudare ludar*). Here the predilection for *u* is remarkable. As regards the consonants *al* is resolved in Oberl. into *au*, in Engad. into *ò* (*alter auter óter*). Softened *l* and *n* are formed in the usual manner, and written *lg*, *ng* or *gl*, *gn*. Initial *s* before consonants is pronounced *sch* [*sh* Eng.].

Ti splits into various forms (*palatium palaz, credentia cardienscha, ratio raschun radschun*). *C* before *a*, *o*, *u* is treated in Oberl. nearly as in Italian, but it sometimes assumes here, as it does regularly in Engad., a broken sound, which is expressed in writing by *ch*, *chi*, or sometimes by *tg* (Lat. *calor, caballus, peccatum, caput, canis, corpus, corium, cuna*, Oberl. *calur, cavaigl, puccau, cheau, chiaun, chierp, chir, chinna*, Engad. *chalur, chavaigl, puchà, cheu, chaun, chierp, chör, chunna*). *C* before *e* and *i* is either pronounced as *z* [*ts*], especially in Engad. (*celebrar, facil*) or like *tsch*, in which case it is so written (*cælum, tschiel, facies fatscha*), or as *sch*, which sound also includes the Latin element *sce, sci* (*tacere tascher, decem diesch, nasci nascher*). *Ct* in Oberl. becomes *g*, which is also written *ig* or *tg* (*lectus lèg, noctem noig*), in Engad. *tt* (*lett, nott*). *G* has two varieties, the hard guttural of other languages, and a softer sound, commonly expressed by *gi*, but also by *tg* in the desinence. Before *a*, *o*, *u*, it commonly retains its hard sound (*gallina gaglina*, but *ligare ligiar*), in Engad. it assumes the softer sound at least before *a* (*giallina* &c.). Before *e* and *i* it similarly preserves a guttural pronunciation, but is sibilated in many cases (*gener schiender, ingentium inschin, pungere punscher*). *J* as a rule is represented by *gi* (*jejunos giginn, jentare giantare*). The phonetic mutations of the mutes have no peculiarity.

Very interesting indeed is the etymological aspect of this Grison language. The Rhetians were of Etruscan origin. Under Augustus the country was conquered by the Romans, and the Latin language established in it. A few centuries after the western parts were occupied by the Allemanni, and

the East, by the Bavarians. In the West the Romance language still survives; in the adjacent eastern districts (the Vorarlberg, and German Tyrol) it has perished. Some remnants of Etruscan are preserved in local names, as has been shown in detail by a recent inquirer (Steub, *Ueber die Urbewohner Rhätians*, 1843, and *Zur rhätischen Ethnologie*, 1854), others may be suspected in Grison appellatives.*

The Romance element has been much obscured, especially by transpositions of letters, which add much to the difficulty of ascertaining the etymology; e. g. *caula* is *aquila*, *damchiar* *imaginare*, *diember numerus*, *diever opera*, *iamma hebdomas*, *sdrelar disgelare*; see Steub's *Ethn.* p. 43 et seq. The German element is large, but mostly, as appears from the forms, of modern introduction.

* Examples of such appellatives are given by the above-mentioned inquirer, *Ethnol.* 46—49. They have been chosen with much care, though a few words from well-known languages have crept in. Thus *tarna* (woodworm) is the It. *tarma* = Lat. *termes*; *tegia* (hut) is *atteggia*, *chamaula* (moth) seems compounded with *maula* (caterpillar) which suggests Goth. *malô*. The separation of the Latin and German elements, with a view to exposing the Rhetian germ as clearly as possible, would be a meritorious undertaking.

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